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**THE VALUES AND TEACHING EXPERIENCES OF SECONDARY SCHOOL
TEACHERS.**

Robert Butroyd

**A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.**

The University of Huddersfield

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In memory of *Sandy*.

The values and teaching experiences of secondary school teachers.

Abstract

There is concern expressed by academics and politicians about the perceived disintegration of culturally shared values. At the same time there is a widely held perception that many teachers are disengaged from the classroom teaching experience. These problems form the context for this hermeneutic research study. Its purpose is to explore the nature of the teacher's experience of teaching their subject and to investigate links between values and disengagement.

Four values contexts are identified which have characteristics. Teachers draw upon the characteristics of the values contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils to give a range of meanings to commonly recognised values. A link is identified within the research sample between the denial and distortion of values and the disengagement, through mortification, of teachers and, correspondingly, their pupils. This link is to be found in the characteristics of Schooling. When these characteristics are attached to the research values of respect, teacher, curiosity and exploration they become attendant values. The attendant values of Schooling undermine the relationship between teacher and pupil and contribute to the disengagement of both from the classroom experience.

Keywords

Values contexts

These four contexts, of Self, Schooling, Subject, Pupils, are heuristic devices used to explore the values of the teacher. They are derived from phase one data.

Characteristics of the four contexts

These are criteria used to identify the context used by a teacher to construct the meaning of a research value. They are derived from phase one data.

Research value

This refers specifically to the values that emerged from phase two data. They are explored in stage two of the analysis: respect, teacher, exploration, curiosity.

Dilemma position

A heuristic device derived from the methodological stance of conflict theory.

Characteristics identified in stage two are grouped in terms of their affinity with a position and its antithesis.

Attendant value

A characteristic is described as an attendant value when having been identified as underpinning, or qualifying a research value in stage two of the analysis. The informants talk of this characteristic as being in some way prized, esteemed or an aim of education.

The reader's attention is drawn to Appendix two: Sensitising concepts.

Abbreviations

ASE	Association for Science Education
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
ERA	Education Reform Act
GCF	Gordon Cook Foundation
HMI	Her Majesty’s Inspectors
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LEA	Local Education Authority
LMS	Local Management of Schools
NCC	National Curriculum Council
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PoS	Programme of Study
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
SCAA	School Curriculum and Assessment Authority
SEC	Secondary Examinations Council

The school subjects of Science and English and the research contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils are capitalised to distinguish them from other meanings.

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Chapter One

Introduction

A wide range of literature supports the dominant educational paradigm characterised by the pursuit and measurement of outcomes. This is a technical-rational model driven by 'market forces' (Schön 1981; Beardon et al. 1992; Elliott 1993; Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1995; Skidelsky 1989; T.E.S. 1997; Simkins 1999; Porter 2000; BBC 2001; Henry and Thornton 2001). This assertion is not uncontested, as literature supports a new, emerging paradigm, a post technical-rational model that calls for increased collegiality and reflexivity, linking the development of teachers to the needs of the institution (Hargreaves, A. 1994; Hargreaves, 1994; Whitty 2000, Quicke 2000). The problem for a study of values is that both models have a tendency to sublimate the needs and aspirations of those who participate, particularly pupils, and the focus of this study, teachers, to the needs of an 'institution' or 'society'. A third perspective recognises a different reality. Hollis (1996) describes how political theory underpins the educational process

Education is a process of shaping society a generation hence, whether the shape is well chosen is a question of public moral philosophy, whose other name is political theory (p.14)

Values arise not just through the aspirations of those who determine 'policy' but those who participate in the education process (Goodson 1994). The technical view of the teacher, promoted through the various models of competence imposed upon teacher education (Beardon. et.al. 1992), fails to recognise the political nature of education, however implicit it might be. Indeed, such questions are denounced as 'ideological' and are to be avoided by the teaching 'profession' (O'Hear 1981.1988). Whilst recognising that not all education is political, this work builds from the premise that the teacher,

consciously or unconsciously, operates at a political level because education involves power (Torres 1999), in terms of internal relationships within the classroom, and relationships external to the classroom. Teachers sort, assimilate, reject, compromise, and assert their beliefs and values and those they encounter during their occupational experience.

This work does not set out to explore the question of political correctness, or moral relativism, but questions arising from values to be found in the social relationships of subject teaching, and to relate these questions to teacher disengagement. What values are important to teachers? Are they characterised by contradiction? How does the occupational experience affect teacher values? How do teacher cultures differ across schools and subjects? How far is a conflict model reflected in pupil responses to teacher values, and what happens when teachers find their values in conflict with teacher culture? The thesis uses these questions as the basis for enquiry, but rather than leading to issues of contradiction and conflict the findings are concerned rather with the common experiences and desires of teachers and pupils.

Although this study draws partly upon the traditions of Critical Theory, which attempts to unmask the rhetoric of shared values and questions the legitimacy of authority (Lawton, D. Gordon, P. 2002), to focus unashamedly upon the aspirations of subject teachers, in order to fully explore this complex area the methodology is required to be eclectic. The work is hermeneutic, in the sense that it 'suggests new meanings and encourages further conversations' (Noddings 1995 p71) and 'truth and objectivity are seen as nothing but

human products and man rather than nature is seen as the ultimate author of “knowledge” and “reality” (Whitty 1974). The methodology is heuristic. Characteristics of the research contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils are used to analyse data. This methodology relies upon indefinite triangulation (Cicourel 1973) and progressive focussing (Somekh 1995) of the analysis, so that the findings evolve over two phases of data collection. The research took place between 1996 and 2000. The first phase involved interviews with 19 secondary school teachers and the second phase involved 15 secondary school teachers and their pupils. The approach to values is pragmatic rather than philosophical. At the centre of this work is a desire to discuss the effects of school teaching upon teachers.

The Research Problems

This research is defined by two research problems. First, there is concern with a perceived fracturing of values in society in general, and schools in particular (Blake, Hanley et al. 2000; Taylor 2000). This concern has been addressed by a desire by policy makers to define and develop ‘shared values’. Although there is considerable agreement about the type of values teachers should hold (SCAA 1996) disagreements arise when decisions are made about what these values should look like in practice. Part of the problem is that ‘schools are wracked with contradictory aims’ (Lawton 2000 p. 26) and yet Tate, thinks that schools should identify their values, implement, monitor and reward achievement in them (Talbot, M. Tate, N 2000). What seems like a common sense approach at first glance is highly problematic. Earlier, Tate himself identifies that there may be a flaw in this apparently straightforward move towards shared values:

Chapter One: Introduction

Recognition that there are differences in values between cultures has been allowed to weaken the very concept of value. (Carvel 1996 p6)

Tate appears to be saying that if we recognise value in different cultures, then this weakens the concept itself. Does his understanding of culture refer to the differences between Science and English, between teacher and pupil? This is controversial because one of the implications of his comments is that only the values of one culture should be recognised. From which culture should this spring?

Brighouse, quoted in Watson (1987), also assumed that values were 'good', although he took a less autocratic view:

The first ingredient of an excelling school, in which relationships are good and learning happens, is a shared value system. (p1)

Brighouse placed values in the context of relationships, which suggested that those with an interest in the school should develop values. This approach does not suggest a hierarchy of values and cultures, which Tate's approach does, but it still leaves open the precise nature of such values.

The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA 1997) took up the challenge of defining shared values based upon their predecessor's work (SCAA 1996). They published guidance for schools in the area of values development that considered the contribution of subject teaching in secondary schools and colleges. The QCA argued that:

Spiritual development requires a supportive and challenging environment. This requires teachers to consider not only the types of experiences and activities which need to be provided for the pupils but also the underlying ethos of the learning situation. This includes the teachers' own values and attitudes. (p4)

This proposal for teachers to review their own values and attitudes is an encouraging pointer for those who consider the subject teacher to be an important influence on young people. However, since this publication, although subsequent guidance refers to reviewing whole school values and pupil reflection upon values and attitudes, there has been little reference to teachers reviewing their own values in subject teaching guidance or consultation material on Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) and Citizenship.

The second problem follows from research into the nature of secondary school teaching, which has revealed a propensity amongst teachers to disengage from analysis of their classroom practice, and to become 'numbed' by the teaching experience. Huberman's (1992) research in secondary schools in Switzerland

turned up large cohorts of teachers who disengage....or who made no attempt to change instructional practices, which they themselves judged to be problematic. (137)

This work asks if there is a relationship between a perceived breakdown in values and the disengagement of teachers. Although there is some recognition of alienation and anomie in secondary education, particularly amongst pupils (Cairns 2000) there is little recent research on these aspects of the occupational experience of teachers.

Hargreaves (1967, 1982) has written extensively on teaching in the secondary school and the relationship between pupils and teachers, and he found similarly inactive and passive traits amongst secondary teachers.

Children have become more overt in their boredom and criticism, more difficult to manage and control. This, when combined with the teacher's own boredom, breeds a particular kind of exhaustion which seems to be quite unique to teachers and hardly understood outside the profession. When I became a don I found myself working very much longer hours than when I had been a

school teacher, but I did not experience at the end of the day that curious sense of numbness, of being emotionally drained and empty, which can overwhelm the teacher. Professionals get tired; teachers become exhausted. It is no wonder that sometimes in the evening they feel able to do little more than sit in front of their television screens, watching trivial programmes with a blank gaze. Their pupils, of course, are often doing the same. (1982 p.202-203)

This is a vivid description of a state of affairs that will be familiar to many teachers, but is this evident 20 years later? In explaining this phenomenon Hargreaves commented widely upon the social relations of pupils and teachers, but there was little on the nature of instructional practices, the differences in subjects and the way that they impinge upon teachers' values. He referred to symptoms common to both pupils and teachers, but did not examine in detail the common experiences that created this. He concentrated more on the macro issues of school organisation and curriculum and explained disengagement in terms of an inappropriate school curriculum and school organisation without a detailed exploration of the social relationships that a curriculum demands. His direct reference to the teacher's own values is expressed in terms of being 'middle class' whilst the pupils in his studies have 'working class values'. He holds to Bowles and Gintis' (1976) conflict model of schooling (Hargreaves 1982. p 13-14), a model that is useful for the analysis of the conflict between teachers and pupils, but, as shall be seen later, does not address their common interests and shared experiences.

Poppleton (1989) identified an important link between values and the intrinsic nature of teacher work (whether it was interesting, made full use of the teacher's abilities, allowed teacher autonomy). Failure to address the intrinsic value of work undermined the centrality of work and led to teacher stress. Heafford and Jennison (1998) discovered that working with children in classrooms and the use of subject knowledge are the two factors

that contribute most to the teacher's enjoyment of the job, whilst respect was an important aspect of esteem.

This thesis explores the relationship between the values associated with subject teaching and the occupational experience of fifteen teacher informants. For example, focussing upon the informants' subject work with pupils this study reveals that Schooling creates a particular form of curiosity (an important value for Science informants) that leads to a significant level of disengagement from the classroom experience of subject study by both teachers, and their pupils. Curiosity is shaped by their respective roles. Teachers are pressured by a demanding and crowded curriculum to 'cover the syllabus', whilst maintaining 'control' over their pupils. The role of pupils is to respond passively to this asymmetrical relationship, where the teacher is meant to retain dominant power. This leads to a form of game playing, where teachers and pupils are expected to be surprised and challenged by experiments that both understand to have been carried out many times before, and which have pre-determined outcomes. Neither the constraint of the curriculum and poor resources, in terms of time and equipment, nor the fear of the unexpected allow for the pursuit of genuine curiosity. Pursuit of curiosity requires close relationships that offer security and reassurance, a form of friendship that the distant relationships of teacher and pupil deny. This game playing is reinforced by the examination imperative and attendant values of classification and a legitimate curriculum that characterise Schooling and dominates classroom pedagogy and the occupational experience of teachers. Teachers and pupils are subjected to mortification, the stripping out of essential parts of the self. Mortification in this particular example is the denial of

inquisitiveness, friendship, truth, pleasure, satisfaction and dignity, for both teacher and pupil.

The next chapter reviews the literature pertinent to the field of enquiry, and develops sensitising concepts (Giddens 1976) and research questions. Chapter Three details the methodology that moved through two phases of data collection and three stages of analysis. Chapter Four presents the values contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject, and Pupils and their characteristics. Chapters Five, Six and Seven explore the contradictory interpretations of the four research values of respect, teacher, exploration, and curiosity. Chapter Eight, through the research questions, develops the thesis that teachers and pupils, whilst interpreting values in a number of different ways, have a shared experience of mortification driven by the pursuit of a distorted form of instrumental value. They have a yearning for a more meaningful classroom experience exemplified by the pursuit of curiosity and exploration based upon intrinsic value, that is denied by the characteristics of Schooling. Chapter Nine reflects upon the thesis, and reviews the methodology and opportunities for further research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This literature review does not take a particular theoretical perspective beyond that of a general acceptance of ‘conflict theorists’ (Appendix one: Statement of the researcher’s values). The approach is a genuine attempt to look for resonance in literature from a broad range of sources and thus understanding is sharpened through the combat of ideas with data. In this way the thesis progresses. It does not set out with a perspective and look for exemplification. The process is iterative, heuristic and ultimately hermeneutic.

Hermeneutical work enlarges our scope of vision, suggests new meanings, and encourages further conversations.....hermeneutics....tries to make sense out of history and contemporary contexts without tying either to rigid theoretical foundations (Noddings 1995. P 71)

The thesis is not about testing a particular way of seeing, but calls upon a range of traditions to be able to get inside the minds of teachers. At this level of complexity such an approach is crucial to revealing the dominance of mortification and the correspondence of teacher and pupil experience.

The review has two general aims. First, the sections on values and culture investigate the two research problems. These problems can be summarised briefly as: a breakdown of values in schools, and a significant numbers of teachers who disengage from schooling (Huberman 1992). In the values section the values of teachers in two subject areas, Science and English, are reviewed and after a section on teacher culture there is a brief account of pupil values and their relationship to teachers. The research questions emerge from these two sections. Secondly, after an examination of the contribution of ‘conflict theorists’ to an exploration of the problems a number of sensitising concepts are

identified that are used later in the thesis to explore the relationship between the nature of teacher values and teacher disengagement.

Spear et al (2000) in their review of literature relating to factors motivating and demotivating teachers refer to the predominance of theoretical writing and experimental work pre-dating 1988. They comment that this type of work has been rarely published since then. This literature review also, in part, reflects this 'golden age' with reference to what might be considered seminal works in the field. The review raises more issues than can be explored by a single research project of this scale. Although not all issues are furthered through the research questions it is useful to raise them as it reveals the complexity and depth of the terrain, signposts future research projects, and provides contexts for investigating the messy business of values. The issues raised in this literature review are evidenced to greater or lesser degrees; sometimes the issues are raised as 'common sense' or simple assertion. This should not concern us too much here. The purpose of raising these matters is to provide a context for the research that is to follow. It may be that there is resonance in these ideas, or maybe there are negations and a different perspective. Comments and criticisms are made in the spirit of investigation, not to denigrate work of integrity. The section begins by identifying useful interpretations of values: useful in the sense that these interpretations can shed light upon how the complex nature of classroom experiences develops or frustrates the aspirations associated with teacher values.

Teacher values

Why study teacher values?

This thesis is concerned with exploring issues arising from the values of schooling, subject teaching and teacher self-identity. So, although this does not warrant a philosophical discussion of the nature of values, as this would be a book in itself, it is important to clarify a concept that is central to the thesis. In their broadest sense values are:

Something to prize, to esteem. (Dewey 1966.p 238)

Values encompass the passions, dreams, aspirations and hopes of teachers. This work is predicated on a belief that an analysis of issues arising from teacher values can help to explain why many teachers are supposed by Hargreaves (1982) to be numb and emotionally drained at the end of the school day.

The researcher initially wanted to explore the influence of beliefs upon motivation, as it was considered that this would provide insight into teacher aspirations. A study of beliefs appears to offer fertile ground in an investigation at the heart of the classrooms.

Beliefs are the underlying convictions which determine what is valued about the nature of existence, reality, other human beings and the world.....Believing is the process whereby we make imaginative leaps of faith beyond that which is known. (Selmes, 1993p. 32)

To study teachers' beliefs is to ask questions about the basis of valuation. These are worthwhile questions in themselves, but beliefs are far broader than those aspirations, ambitions and hopes that offer the potential for satisfaction. Beliefs cover such a broad area, indeed 'existence', 'reality' and 'the world', that the area of study needs to be refined. To review teachers' beliefs does not answer questions about what teachers

consider important. Here values can offer further insight as a form of belief; a belief in what is important.

As phase one of the research progressed it became clear that a study of beliefs would be too broad. It would be particularly difficult to determine which beliefs influenced teacher practice. A study of beliefs would tend to involve justification after the event, trying to draw upon past experiences, existential assumptions, unrelated episodes and alternatives not known to exist (Nespor 1987). The tendency would be towards rationalisation. Values are aspirational; they look forwards. The teachers' views on the nature of subject teaching expressed in interviews can be compared with expressed aspirations. The weight, or potential distortion, of self-justification is not as strong with values. It was considered that the teacher would not be as defensive in responding to values, to what they would like to see. Beliefs would relate to what was, and the need to justify actions in the light of this. Crompton (1979) draws a useful distinction between values and beliefs:

Values are what we desire to be true and, logically, we thus seek what we desire and value. Action is implied by our values whereas our beliefs do not impel us to any kind of action. (p 21)

Some beliefs are held but would not be important to that person as a teacher. For example, a belief that increased annual rainfall was determined by global warming may be held by a teacher of English, but the teacher may not consider this to be important in their teaching and, indeed, observation of that teacher may confirm that this belief plays no part in their classroom. However, a teacher who believed the conservation of the environment to be an aim or interest of importance to the future of the pupils, might well bring this value into their teaching. It is in this sense that values were considered to be a key to unlocking the impact of schooling on the aims and interests of pupils (Dewey

1966). Values in Dewey's sense are often inter-changeable with preferred interests or aims.

Life histories have played an increasing role in the exploration of teachers and their work (Sikes, Measor and Woods 1985; Measor and Sikes, 1992; Thomas 1995;. Armstrong, 1997). It contributes to an understanding of why teachers may choose to use the skills and knowledge that they do in the classroom but it does not explain the nature of the classroom experience and the effect that this has upon them as teachers. By definition, it cannot explore the immediate interaction between teacher, taught matter, pupils and the environment. The significance of life history and its increased use in educational research is that it recognises the importance of what Goodson (1994) calls 'the teachers' voice.'

Curriculum as prescription supports the mystique that expertise and control reside within central governments, educational bureaucracies or the university community.....to continue to exist, teachers day to day power must remain unspoken and unrecorded. This is one price of complicity: day to day power and autonomy for schools and for teachers are dependent on continuing to accept the fundamental lie. In addressing the crisis of prescription and reform, it becomes imperative that we find new ways to sponsor the teachers' voice. (Goodson, 1994. pp13 -14)

The use of the voice is important if the effect of what happens at the heart of our classrooms is to be uncovered. An understanding of the teacher's self image is also an important factor in the knowledge and skills that teachers depend upon. Much of the work in this area is carried out by Nias (1984, 1987, 1989a, 1989b; Nias and Aspinwall 1995). Nias' work on reference groups and the substantial and situational self which are developed in her work are important to a study of values, not least because they offer some insight into how teachers maintain and adapt their values. The substantial self 'comprises the most highly prized aspects of our self concept and the attitudes and values

which are salient to them' (Nias. 1989b. P 21). In new situations the values of the substantial self are protected, and this is conducted through negotiation, and change in those values of the situational self which are not essential to the maintenance of the substantial self.

The nature of values

There is a danger that this part of the thesis could easily be diverted into a philosophical discussion of the nature of values. The invocation of values is based upon a desire to explain, in part, the perceived widespread anomie of teachers and their concomitant disillusionment. Values can have meanings, and implications beyond those used in this thesis. However, what this section seeks to achieve is a useful interpretation of values, to develop analytical concepts that can be used to interpret the complex classroom situation within the social organisation of the school in late 20th Century England.

The earlier definition of values as 'something to prize, to esteem' (Dewey 1966) was general and vague. In this section values are refined for use in the research. Values in themselves are not necessarily rationally grounded, but are competing, and 'often irreconcilable', (Habermas 1984. pp.246 - 247); chosen to serve a purpose. This purpose being to give 'meaning and unity' to an apparently chaotic and meaningless world. Unity may be fashioned for the individual from irreconcilable values, given meaning through subjective interpretations (Marcuse 1972). This irreconcilable nature is particularly the case if values are removed from their context, or placed in different contexts. Values often become ideals which, according to Marcuse,

Chapter Two: Literature Review

don't disturb unduly the established way of life, and are not invalidated by the fact that they are contradicted by the behaviour dictated by the daily necessity of business and politics.(pp121 –122)

Values expressed as ideals have implications for the world of the teacher. If they do not disturb the business of teaching then this suggests that Tate's view of teaching as one that is threatened by a values vacuum is not only correct but inevitable. Circumstances, it is implied, are such that the practicalities of life dominate our actions and we have no choice but to proceed in ways that may contradict our values. Furthermore, such contradictions will not diminish those values. This raises an important question: Does the daily business of schooling and classroom practice contradict the values of teachers?

Cairns (2000) points to the changing nature of values throughout a person's life. Context is crucial to understanding values. An important question for this research to consider is the relative importance of contexts, and whether the identity, or self, remains constant in each context. Life history research suggests that the context of other aspects of teachers' lives does impact upon the teachers' self-identity. In a study such as this the research has to consider how important these life contexts are in helping to address the issues related to teacher values and the satisfaction that teachers derive from their work. The concept of multiple selves (Sikes, Measor and Woods, 1985; Hargreaves 1982; Goffman and Foucault in Layder 1994) is explored later in this chapter for this purpose. This thesis is about identifying those values that the teachers bring to, develop or frustrate in their classrooms, but for now the starting point for an exploration of teachers' values is the context of their occupation, that of educational values.

Dewey (1966) offers some clarity in this wide area. He argued that educational values are often coincidental with educational aims. For the purposes of this research this would be the aims of the whole curriculum, including the National Curriculum, and the specific syllabuses of Science and English, values that are explored in Chapter Four. Dewey makes a further, useful distinction between two types of educational value: intrinsic and instrumental values.

Intrinsic values are not objects of judgement, they cannot (as intrinsic) be compared, or regarded as greater and less, better or worse. They are invaluable; and if a thing is invaluable, it is neither more nor less so than any other invaluable. But occasions present themselves when it is necessary to choose, when we must let one thing go in order to take another. This establishes an order of preference, a greater and less, better and worse. Things judged or passed upon have to be estimated in relation to some third thing, some further end. With regard to that, they are means, or instrumental values. (pp 238 – 239)

This distinction between intrinsic values, which are ends in themselves, and instrumental values, which are means to ends, is an important one. Educational aims may have value, and may be revered for that reason. However, if they are instrumental values then the purpose of their inclusion in any curriculum, hidden or formal, may appear obscure and irrelevant if the end, the intrinsic value, is hidden behind an instrumental value. It is also important to recognise that a value is not inherently intrinsic or instrumental. As ‘occasions present themselves’ a value may move from one classification to another. For example, examination success may be an instrumental value, in that it enables a successful student to gain access through further study or employment to the work or lifestyle that offers (intrinsic) satisfaction. However, on achieving examination success that achievement may offer intrinsic value in itself. Whether a value is intrinsic or instrumental depends upon individual perception and the ‘occasion’.

One further distinction is important. Dewey's (1966) instrumental value can be further sub-divided into use and exchange value derived from Marx and Engels (1968). Use value is the immediate usefulness of subject study. Understanding how a plug works, or using appropriate language in a range of different circumstances are two examples. Exchange value is also a type of instrumental value. In this case it would be the value of certification in terms of the employment or study opportunities that a certificate makes available. A 'C' or above at GCSE would have a high exchange value, and a pre-GCSE certificate a low exchange value.

What values do teachers hold about schooling?

Lacey's (1970) study of *Hightown Grammar* found that teachers eschewed the idea of friendship between pupils and themselves. This was not clear simply from what the teachers said, but in the ways in which they went about their business and kept up barriers to pupils in the interests of self-protection. This self-protection was predicated upon the dominant position of teacher over pupil.

Lacey (1977) disputed the idea that society operated by subscription to shared values, but rather it worked through the domination of the majority by the minority, who control the system of production. This means that cohesion and agreement are illusions. He identified another area of conflict. He argued that the site of primary socialisation is the home, and that the secondary socialisation of the school has to deal with the disparate values systems brought in to the classroom by pupils from these different homes.

Hargreaves (1967) in his study of *Lumley Secondary Modern* for Boys asserted that the values of the teachers are middle class, whilst those of its pupils are working class. The social relations of the school were often concerned with the clash of values that resulted in low expectations amongst teachers, and a 'custodial atmosphere' in the school. His argument was that the values of society are based upon the protestant work ethic and that the biggest value is that of achievement. Achievement was a key value, in that it underpins all others. Woods (1979), who asserts that some pupils measure their achievement using different values to those of the school, challenges a single notion of achievement. In the context of education in the late 20th Century the position of achievement, in the guise of examination success appears undiminished.

In Hargreaves' (1982) review of the comprehensive system he identified three forms of the curriculum that promote different values. The hidden curriculum is defined as the social relations of the educational encounter. These social relations are characterised by institutional domination of pupils by teachers. These relationships are underpinned by values of obedience and passivity, particularly for the lower achieving pupils of the 'B' stream. This is in contradiction to the values of autonomy, independence and creativity that underpin the second curriculum, the formal curriculum, which characterises the experiences of the higher achieving pupils in the 'A' stream. Pupils have to contend with an erosion of honour, and more importantly, for Hargreaves, dignity. Dignity, defined in the tradition of Durkheim ('competence, of making a contribution to, and being valued by, the groups to which he or she belongs.' In Hargreaves 1982. p.100) is a value which he feels should be revived.

Hargreaves' third form of curriculum is the hidden curriculum of the formal curriculum. This may more ordinarily be understood as one of a number of values transmitted through option choices (girls encouraged to choose Home Economics, boys Metalwork), or through some of the sexist, racist, class biased aspects of subject matter. Further analysis of this formal curriculum reveals that the intellectual cognitive domain, which is increasingly subject to external examination, is seen to be widespread in the comprehensive school and passes on messages about the reduced worth of other forms of study.

He returns again to the idea that examination success is the key value that underpins all others. He quotes the Schools Council Enquiry (p91) which asked pupils, parents, head teachers, and teachers to rank the importance of various school objectives. Completed in 1968 it revealed the primacy of instrumental purpose in education. Over 80% of pupils wanted schools to teach them things that would be of direct relevance to the job market, whilst 92% of teachers considered the development of the pupils personality and character to be very important. This is another aspect of the classroom that fits a conflict model of education. However, Hargreaves wrote his work nearly 14 years after the publication of the quoted research, and he speculated that since that time teachers views on the purposes of education were more likely to have moved in line with the other key stakeholders in education.

Ball's (1981) work is in the tradition of Lacey (1970) and Hargreaves (1967, 1982) who were trying to explain the comparatively disappointing performance of working class pupils. Ball quotes work completed by Murdock (1975) that compares the values promoted by the school with the values promoted by the popular media. His conclusion is that pupils were no longer dependent upon a reversal of the norms and values of the school as a source of alternative status and opposition. He calls for teachers to review what they call 'failure' as pupils may be successful in their own terms, whilst he recognises the Durkheimian significance of the rules and rituals which serve the purpose of bonding society with shared values.

Before looking at current knowledge of teachers' values it is worth taking into account the location of teaching in the nexus of values. The teacher mediates between a number of different 'worlds' (Hoyle 2001). They mediate between different sources of values; between the world of children and the world of adults; the world of school and the world of work; the world of transmitting knowledge, and the world of creating knowledge; school values and adult values. This last leads to the school as a 'museum of virtue' (Waller 1932) where school values are what parents might wish their children to internalise, whilst the world of the adult may make such inculcation impossible. Both Hoyle and Lacey (1977) described tensions that, to some extent, define and constrain the teacher. Later, these tensions are discussed in relation to 'conflict theorists', and are taken into account in the methodology of data collection and analysis.

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Poppleton (1989), using a quantitative approach, described the presence of a range of values amongst 686 school teachers in the north of England. She found that values played little part in job satisfaction, except in terms of 'intrinsic aspects of teaching', as the idealism associated with values leads to frustration. Poppleton's work is an important starting point as it is a more recent description of the possible relationship of teachers to values and their frustration. It is the nature and cause of this frustration that lies at the heart of this work. This is not an easy task as little of the work in this field is directly related to Secondary school subject teachers.

There is some work, for example, on Primary teachers' conceptions of their professional role (Broadfoot, Osborn, et al. 1987) which suggests that English Primary teachers have a broader conception of their responsibilities, accepting responsibilities that lead them into areas that might be considered social work, than their French counterparts. Nias (1984) in her study of Infant teachers asserts that 'education (as distinct from schooling) involves the translation of values into action'. Yet, Nias acknowledges that there is little work that bears directly on teachers' values (p268). What work there is focuses on self concern and self esteem, and even this is carried out with students, as opposed to experienced teachers. In her later work (1989) she reviews literature in the field to find that in the Primary sector teachers do not communicate about values and consequently there is no development of shared values within a single school. We do not know how much of these findings are applicable to the English Secondary situation.

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In the Secondary sector there are reviews of subject paradigms, and assumptions that teachers ascribe to these paradigms. There is work on school ethos, again with assumptions, based upon teacher attitudes to initiatives, from which generalisations are made. There is research into pupil attitudes and values, but there is little in the way of direct research in the area of subject teacher values. However, reviewing this body of literature provides a background for such a study, and sharpens the research questions.

Sachs and Smith (1988) in their review of literature in the field of teacher culture identify a number of perspectives that are significant for a study of values. Teaching is object-less and vague, because of the intangible nature of what is produced (Connell, 1985). Teachers have shared concerns (Freedman, Jackson and Boles 1983) because, essentially, classroom experiences are similar (Bolster 1983). However, because of a lack of technical language and isolation, solutions have to be developed individually (Lortie 1975). Concern with control leads to a concern with means not ends (Lortie) which leads to the development of knowledge out of context (Bernstein, 1986).

Sikes (1984) described stress and dissatisfaction levels in comprehensive schools that were linked to a negative ethos. Significantly, she asserts that if low morale, commitment and effort characterise a staff then change to a more positive ethos is difficult, especially as incoming teachers adopt the cultural norms of the school. School ethos, if generated by management teams that discourage wider participation, prevents the sharing of aims and values. Conversely, where teachers share in the development of the ethos this tends to be positive and pupil outcomes also tend to be positive. One of the difficulties of this study

is that it is concerned with the effects of school reorganisation from secondary modern/grammar school to comprehensive school. However, Sikes' study raises questions about the nature of shared values and teacher disengagement, particularly as she can claim that 'schools have lost their dignity and identity.' This concern with dignity is raised by Beck (1999) who considers dignity to be under threat. The contention is that teacher professionalism is engaged in a battle between technical bureaucratic authority and professionalism based upon 'humanely educated and ethically committed' values of independent judgement and dignity.

The position of the QCA is somewhat ambivalent. They acknowledge that the National Curriculum had not been premised on published values, and that 'for the first time....the revised National Curriculum documents will be prefaced with an overarching statement of the values, aims and purpose of the National Curriculum' (DfEE/QCA 1999 p4 of Sec. of State's Letter). The concerns expressed by Tate (Carvel 1996) had led to the establishment of the National Forum for Values in Education and the Community (SCAA, 1996) which tried to establish the extent of agreement on values, and which ones should be promoted in schools. The Forum eventually proposed four areas of values that were thought to be 'agreed' and would be the basis for the values to be published in the revised National Curriculum.

The ambivalence derives from School Curriculum and Assessment Authority's (SCAA) successor, the QCA (QCA, 1997), and their initiative to promote the consideration of values within subject teaching. Whilst draft guidance was produced for Primary

education, in the guise of a number of case studies, guidelines and resource directories, nothing was produced for Secondary subject teaching. The statement of values simply disappeared into the preamble of the new National Curriculum (DfEE/QCA, 2000a) and the new subject of Citizenship (DfEE/QCA, 2000b) reducing the importance of subject teachers' reflection upon the values evident in their own classrooms. Lines (1999), argues there is scope for values exploration within subject teaching, and yet teachers do not encourage a critique of values, as they are considered a by-product of teaching. The QCA decided that they would not encourage teachers to consider the values that under pinned their practice, or was evident in their subject teaching. As we have seen, assumptions are made about teacher values, either the lack of them, or their shared nature, and yet there is little evidence of what the position might be. The QCA, like others, appear reluctant to even ask Secondary teachers.

What values do teachers hold about Science and English?

The National Curriculum Core subjects of English, Maths and Science are the most constrained of the National Curriculum subjects because of their role in the Key Stage tests and the publication of these results as indicators of school performance. After analysis of data from the pilot stage of the research it was decided to investigate Key Stage 4 Science and Key Stage 4 English teachers in greater depth. The reasons for this are explored in more detail during that analysis. At this point it is sufficient to flag up this development in the thesis so that a review of our understanding of teacher values in these subject areas can be undertaken. Evidence of values in the teaching of subject matter is generally thin, and often circumstantial. It would be dangerous to make assumptions

about the nature of Science and English teachers' values from much of the work that is reviewed here. However, in the absence of other more substantive work it provides a backcloth to the study of values in the social relations of these core subjects.

Science teachers and values.

Aronowitz and Giroux (1993) claim that certain subjects in the United States, such as Science and Maths, are used to sort students, and are not used to explore innovative ways of learning. The Wellcome Trust (2000) in its research argues that Science teaching is not generally innovative. It finds, for example, that Science teachers ignore ethical debates in their teaching.

There is a strong distinction between school Science and science as practised (Osborne 2000). This distinction is based upon a positivist approach of the physical sciences which concentrates upon a hypothetico-deductive methodology. Osborne argues that science presents much broader possibilities than this. He outlines four arguments for science that could be used in school Science gleaned from a review of literature. Osborne reviews the strengths and weaknesses of these arguments. The utilitarian argument is found wanting because of the complexity of modern technology which requires the two extremes of intuition (in operation of technology) and expertise in understanding the processes. At a simple level, he claims that it is fatuous to argue that the justification of Science at a simple level is so that pupils will know how to plug in a washing machine and understand how it works. Plugs are already attached, and they are designed so that they can be used intuitively. The small numbers of pupils (12%) who will have science as a major part of

their job undermines the economic argument. Education for all appears from Osborne's work to be justified in terms of two other arguments; the cultural argument that requires an understanding of science as a human activity requiring a study of the context of science, and the democratic argument which considers a critical and reflective approach to issues such as BSE, genetically modified food, vaccines, and space exploration (Cassidy 2003). Osborne completes his analysis by arguing for Science for citizenship whereby there is less emphasis upon content and a more holistic approach developing the skills of scientific analysis to make sense of contemporary life and 'resolve uncertainty'.

Turner and DiMarco (1998), reviewing the aims developed by the Association for Science Education (ASE), argued that Science was linked through the National Curriculum and the aims of the school to the work of the department to encourage 'positive attitudes, values and skills' (p27).

This distinction in the aims of science draws attention to the role of Science in schooling (an idea explored throughout this thesis) as distinct from the unique contribution of the subject and its values to the development, or growth (Dewey 1966) of pupils. These classifications of the nature of school Science are useful analytical tools for a study of the values of Science teachers as they offer opportunities to explore the engagement of Science teachers in the values of their school and subject, and to explore the nature of shared values amongst Science teachers.

An Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report (James 2000) notes the reluctance of Science teachers to adopt a flexible approach involving an

integration of subject matter. The report is concerned with the traditional positivist (Giroux 1997) approach to Science teaching, particularly when it ignores holistic approaches. Science teachings' division into the disciplines of Chemistry, Physics and Biology compounds this. This division prevents the integration of more motivating aspects, such as bio technology and genetic engineering. This suggests that Science values may be linked to the traditional, positivist division of Science rather than a 'holistic' approach. This holistic approach, it is argued, could be used to engage students through 'the daily life interests and realities of the students' and which would involve the Science teacher in 'ethics and economics'; to move away from 'cook-book practicals' (Black 1995). Black's work endorses these criticisms of Science, adding that the curriculum is too detailed, with insufficient educational aims. However, he argues that is up to the, often isolated, teacher to 'resolve for their pupils many of the dilemmas and tensions about beliefs and values that society cannot resolve' (p 182). Whilst yet another burden for Science teaching is the perception that it, and Physics in particular, is a boys subject (Taber 1991).

Layton (1986) covers the debate about value free science, positivism, normative constraints and the values that are necessarily transmitted in school Science through curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. He starts his chapter quoting prominent Scientists (Ernst Chain, Robert Oppenheimer) who stand for value free Science. He argues against the premise that Science is value free. The Science curriculum, in the perspective it selects on topics sends messages about the relative importance of these topics in Science. He cites the chemistry of water as an example. The chemistry studied depends upon

whether the account is for technologically advanced countries, who may be interested in a theoretical account of bonding, energy and structure, or for isolated, water deprived, rural communities, who require the practical chemistry of removing impurities. “By the selection of science of the technically advanced countries priority is accorded to ‘abstract science’ and the ‘disinterested pursuit of truth’, as opposed to social utility” (p 161). Additionally, he points out the difficulties of valuing pupil opinions, ‘right answer syndrome’ and aspects of the hidden curriculum, such as how seating arrangements can influence the perceived value of teacher knowledge and pupil knowledge.

The national curriculum subject Science (DfE 1995a) is built on a positivist model of separation of elements, and their study through experimentation and recording. There is an emphasis on the development of scientific method. However, although there is no specific reference to values that should permeate the orders in the preamble or introduction there are values related issues that can be explored if the teacher desires to. References to values opportunities are to be found in the requirements of the Programme of Study (PoS). These requirements of the PoS have to be taught during Key Stage 4, and they are to be taught across the content. However, crucially, the attainment target level descriptors do not mention these value laden aspects of the requirements. The NEAB syllabus (NEAB 1999a) follows the same pattern as the National Curriculum orders. The syllabus for Double Science has four aims. The fourth one is to

develop understanding of the technological and environmental applications of science and of the economic, ethical and social implications of these. (p 3)

There is an assessment objective that could be used to assess this aim, although it makes no specific reference to the economic, ethical, and social implications:

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Evaluate relevant scientific information and make informed judgements from it. (p 3)

This objective is not weighted in the aggregation of marks (p. 4), although, perhaps more importantly, the place of values in this objective depends upon the interpretation of the phrase 'informed judgements'. What may be considered in making an informed judgement is to be found in the detailed subject contents (p 13). Five topics from this detailed content are worthy of brief consideration. The section on 'Evolution' makes no specific reference to differences in views based upon values positions, for example the 'Creationists' based upon a religious perspective, or that of 'punctuated equilibrium' propagated by some with Marxist leanings. Similarly, although it is difficult to imagine that the topics of 'Types, Properties and Uses of Radioactivity' and 'Atomic Structure and Nuclear Fission' can be taught without raising value laden questions, there is no specific reference to the values positions underpinning scientific research. An example, in this area that would be ripe for a consideration of how the priorities of science are determined, and the impact of such prioritisation, would be embodied in the values positions of Joseph Rotblat and Robert Oppenheimer, physicists working on the Manhattan Project.

The majority of the topics take a technical view of Science, what could be considered a positivist view. However, two topics, for example, stand out as vehicles for social, economic and ethical issues. In the case of 'Genetics and DNA' this is specifically addressed, but for the higher tier of pupils only, over the issue of 'controlling inheritance', whilst the topic of 'Human Impact on the Environment' is peppered with references to ethical, economic and social costs. A separate issue is the study of single

sciences at GCSE by ‘more able’ students, and Double Science by others. This has the potential to send out messages about the superiority of single subject Science over the double awards. There may be perceptions here of ‘hard’ science and ‘soft’ science.

A tentative conclusion can be drawn from this brief review of Science values. Science has great potential to be a source of values exploration. However, there is a question mark over whether Science teachers are prevented, by a positivist, content laden curriculum and assessment objectives which lack specific reference to values, from exploring values inherent in their subject matter. Science teaching, in these circumstances, may well be tempted to ignore the contentious nature of values.

English teachers and values

There is little denial of the presence of values in the literature on English (Hollindale 1986; Snow 1991; Marshall 2000). Snow and Marshall are considered in detail as they explore a range of perspectives on the values that are developed and transmitted by English. The debate about the value of English teaching is a long and healthy one.

Like much of the work relating to subject values and teachers, Snow’s (1991) work is a review of literature. It describes ‘views’ of teachers of English. These ‘views’ often derive from historical perspectives and university study. It is not empirical evidence of teachers’ values in the sense that Marshall’s (2000) work is. Marshall collected data from 75 English teachers who completed a text analysis. Snow’s premise of ‘views’ is

potentially more flexible than the 'classification' of Marshall as it recognises teachers may dip into and out of 'views', that there may be an element of 'mix and match'.

'Classification' does not allow for such leakage, and so, although useful as a starting point, it may not reflect the reality of how teachers respond in the social relations of the classroom. Neither work makes overt exploration of pedagogy and values. The practical application of 'child centred' education could, for example, transmit values of intimidation and conformity if handled in a bullying manner, despite the intention to promote imagination and improvement. An interesting observation is that one focus of Snow's values is upon the broader nature of society: social stability, improvement in society, democracy for radical transformation, and combating inequality. With the exception of the critical dissenters, the values of Marshall's research are much more focused upon the individual, in particular independence of mind, empowerment, empathy, and confidence than upon society.

The National Curriculum subject English (DfE, 1995b) is laid out in the same format as Science. There is no introduction or preamble that refers specifically to values. The language is technical and skills based; the attainment targets are speaking and listening, reading, and writing. However, the language of the Programme of Study (PoS), is peppered with references that invite values. Empathy, and understanding of different perspectives permeate the attainment targets, with references to 'clear points of view' (p 31), 'personal responses to literary texts' (p 28) 'evaluating others' ideas' and 'exploring and communicating ideas' (p 26).

The NEAB syllabus for English Literature (NEAB 1999b) has this as one of its aims:

an awareness of social, historical and cultural contexts and influences in the study of literature. (p 2)

This aim is reflected in the fourth assessment objective when candidates must:

Show their understanding of literary tradition and the appreciation of social and historical influences and cultural contexts. (p 3)

This objective is addressed in the coursework where the genre of response (p 11) and the mark scheme's general criteria (p22) make specific references to understanding of and commentary on the influences of social, historical and cultural contexts. The NEAB syllabus for English (NEAB 1999c) refers specifically to meeting the Key skills of National Curriculum English. The assessment objectives insist pupils:

Participate in discussion, judging the nature and purposes of contributions and the roles of participants; distinguish between fact and opinion; follow an argument, identifying implications and recognising inconsistencies; explore, imagine, entertain, argue, persuade, analyse, review, comment. (p 3 –4)

These objectives are integrated into an assessment grid specifying where they will be assessed (p 7), as well as a content grid (p9). The potential for values engagement appears widespread and intrinsic to the teaching of National Curriculum English. The Science review suggested a positivistic approach to values, whereas this review of English suggests a greater affinity with values engagement and a number of paradigms that might frame the teachers' approaches to values.

Research questions derived from the review of teachers' values:

- What are the values that are important to teachers?
- Are teachers' values characterised by contradiction?
- How does the occupational experience affect teacher values?

Teacher culture

This second part of the literature review is particularly important in the light of research from the pilot project and the first phase of data collection. This literature offered insight into early data. It was used, in addition to the theory outlined in the sections on 'teacher values' and 'conflict theorists', as background theory in the research design, data collection, and analysis of the data from the fifteen key informants and their pupils in phase two.

Why study teacher culture?

Teacher culture is important as it frames the context of values. Sachs and Smith (1988) argue further than that, that schools, and their bureaucratic nature, determine 'what can or cannot properly be done and said when, where and by whom' (p428). This 'bureaucracy' of schools is not simply a reference to line management, but to the 'performances' and details that make up school life. These 'performances' and details constrain individuality within the school. Teachers absorb these practices, simply by being there. By being there they suffer 'status panic', 'uncertainty', and a sense of powerlessness. The result is conformity and an unreflective acceptance of the status quo. This vivid picture, whether it is to be found within our samples or not, is a potent argument for the consideration of teacher culture as a source of, and constraint on teacher values.

Culture is a very complex term that we all recognise, but as with values, it is 'not consensually understood'. There are a number of aspects of culture that this work draws upon, and we start with a situationist (Sharp and Green 1975) approach which allows us

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to consider the individual's response to, and understanding of, values in the context of culture as they experience it. One aim of this current chapter is to raise further issues from the literature that can provide a more complex picture of the nexus of concepts that construct teacher culture. Lawton (2000) asserts that school culture 'must refer to the beliefs, values and behaviour of the teachers' (p27). Spradley (1979) offers a further, very practical definition which describes the nature of culture within education whilst identifying some of the links between culture, values and attendant issues.

Each culture provides people with a way of seeing the world. It categorises, encodes, and other wise defines the world in which people live. Culture includes assumptions about the nature of reality as well as specific information about that reality. It includes values that specify the good, true and believable. Whenever people learn a culture, they are to some extent imprisoned without knowing it. Anthropologists speak of this as being "culture bound," living inside a particular reality that is taken for granted as reality. (p. 10)...Our culture has imposed on us a myth about our complex society – the myth of the melting pot. Social scientists have talked about "American culture" as if it included a set of values shared by everyone. It has become increasingly clear that we do not have a homogeneous culture; that people who live in modern, complex societies actually live by many different cultural codes. This is not only true of the most obvious ethnic groups but each occupation groups exhibits cultural differences. Our schools have their own cultural systems and even within the same institution people see things differently. Consider the language, values, clothing styles, and activities of high school students in contrast to high school teachers and staff. (p12)

The reference to being culture bound is important for a study of teachers. Only a study of teacher culture will prepare the researcher for an exploration of a 'taken for granted' reality where teachers leave unrecognised and unexplored the values that frame their work.

Working on Spradley's assumption that there are different ways of seeing the world, and these different ways define the world that people live in, implies that any research into the values of teachers must take account of their individual situation within their culture. This may mean taking account of the specific culture of Science, or English within a particular school. Cultural experiences must not be taken at face value. Meanings must

not be ascribed to actions or words without exploring the context in which they take place, and to which they refer. An example might be assumptions about the nature of respect, or discipline as expressed by teachers, or pupils. These concepts may have very different meanings for the key informants.

If values are part of the tapestry of culture then to ignore the other aspects of the tapestry, such as 'cultural codes', might distort our view of values. Use of particular words in interviews may trigger responses from teachers that have more to do with a perceived code rather than a genuine interpretation of the intention of the question. Questions about success, for example, may be framed in terms of the dominant paradigm of accountability, rather than in terms of personal satisfaction.

Spradley asserts that there is no such thing as American culture, that there is not a set of values shared by everyone. This is in contradiction with Brighouse's 'shared value system'. Spradley argues that within schools there are a number of evident cultures: those of the staff, teachers and pupils. If there are occupational differences are there values differences? When teachers occupy different cultural spaces do they have different values? Spradley's consideration of values in their cultural context suggests Marcuse's notion of values as ideals. If this analysis is taken seriously the question must be asked about how teachers respond to the apparently inevitable frustration of values that can only ever be ideals. How do the different cultures of Science and English, or of different schools, affect teacher relationship to values and occupational experience?

What is to be studied, the ‘real’ person, or the teacher?

Children are often amazed when they discover that teachers lead lives very much like everybody else outside school. Do they have a point? Are teachers very different creatures in school, with different values from those adults that children meet ‘outside’? Should the ‘real’ person from the ‘real’ world be studied in order to discover the nature and effects of teachers’ values? Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) address the issues of multiple selves. When critical incidents take place the private response meets the public issue, and in these circumstances the teacher will adapt to, negotiate with or reject the teachers’ role. Layder (1994) refers to the work of Goffman and the way individuals distance themselves from their roles in order to reduce tension, and the way that individuals act out different roles in different aspects of their lives. Also in Layder, the work of Foucault is reviewed. Foucault disputes the notion of ‘a centred unity who experiences and deals with the social world as a complete and rational agent’ (Layder p.96). Furthermore, Fraser et al (1998) explain how teacher ‘identities are a complex social construction where work and self are not readily separable’ (p70). This might question how fruitful it is to search for the person beneath the role; to search for an essential being, the substantial self, underneath what might be seen as a superficial, situational, or public role (Nias 1989). In this thesis, the real person is the teacher, and yet they are more than this, and although this thesis explores the situational self, the mortification of aspects of the substantial self emerges as an important issue.

What is known about teacher culture?

Something of the broader culture of teaching has been addressed in the introduction.

Teacher culture is a component of this broader culture, which might also include schooling and its relationship to wider society. However in a study of this nature an examination of culture needs to be more specific. Lawton's (2000) assertion that school culture 'must refer to the beliefs, values and behaviour of the teachers' is the starting point, rather than the culture of the institution, although these broader issues are addressed later in the section on 'conflict theorists'.

In the mid 1970's educational research began to focus upon the sense that teachers made of the world that they inhabited (Lacey 1970, 1977; Hargreaves 1967, 1975, 1982). This was important because it began to place at centre stage teacher influence on pupil learning. In addition, Ball and Goodson (1985), Goodson (1992), Bell (1995) and Woods (1995) studied teachers' lives and gave expression to their voices. Much of the work in the secondary sector concentrates upon typologies and macro classifications (Sikes, Measor and Woods 1985; Riseborough 1985; Huberman 1989; 1992) of teachers' careers, case studies of single schools (Beynon 1985) or individual teachers (Woods 1984). More recently Blake et al (2000) analysed results from six 'promoted, successful teachers' who found the idea of excellence in teaching to be value laden and that teachers

reject a macho business culture in which the pushiest win out. They embody professional values appropriate to a public education service driven by high civic ideals. (p43)

Despite these generalisations Blake et al offer a word of caution, that their findings are 'shadowy and elusive' and that it is important to recognise the importance of 'fine-grain reporting'. Although none of this secondary work explores the relationship of subject teachers' values in their daily practice, they do describe something of the general background under which teacher values form in schools.

Huberman's (1992) work in Switzerland is an important work as it covers the full career range of teaching. Huberman uncovered large cohorts of teachers who persisted in failing pedagogical practice, and who had a propensity for disengagement. These findings raise questions about what teachers consider important in each stage of their career progression, and whether disengagement is due to what Marcuse refers to as the idealisation of values. Huberman associates the career cycle with the number of years teaching, and the gender of the teacher. He also talks of the possibility of 'renewal' and 'positive' and 'negative focusers' (the majority of the latter being male).

Fraser, Draper and Taylor (1998), in their survey of Scottish secondary and primary teachers, wondered if Huberman's 'stabilisation' phase came too early in teachers' careers. They found their teachers embroiled in a mid career ennui, brought about by an increasingly stressful workload, limited opportunities for career advancement and the negative effects that this had on personal life. Chapman (1983) found that those who stayed in teaching valued recognition from family, friends, and 'superiors', whilst those who left valued salary, a challenging working environment and autonomy.

Kyriacou (1989) has written extensively about teachers and stress claiming that it is the low level sources of stress and their cumulative effects, not the less frequent intense sources that teachers are more concerned with. Three examples he refers to are relationships with colleagues, aspects of working conditions and role conflict. One response to stress is the adoption of 'conservative' approaches to teaching, which carries contradictions in itself, as he explains that those who believe in external control are more

likely to suffer stress. Reid and Hinton (1999), building upon Kyriacou, argue that stress is much misunderstood, and although it is recognised as the harmful effects of the interaction of employee and employment, it can be addressed in a stress management programme centred on development of strategies for the individual to 'cope'.

Sikes' (1985) work, on the phases of Art and Science teachers' career cycle, invokes exploration of what Nias (1984, 1987, 1989a, 1989b) calls the substantive self, as teachers negotiate their ways through different career and personal situations that may involve stress. Lacey (1977) refers to a similar division between the 'protected' self and the 'persona'. This resonates with the public and private self (Sikes, Measor, and Woods 1985) and raises questions about the nature of values in the situational or public self. How flexible are these, are they the antithesis of Marcuse's idealised values? Is this the ground on which shared values are built? If they do contradict the values of the substantial or private self, what impact does this have on teachers? How do they respond to the stress or tensions developed by the 'employee' as a response to their occupational environment? Do they disengage (Huberman 1992) or resist (Giroux 1983)?

Ball (1981), in his study of Beachside Comprehensive, looked at pupil mixing, equality and misbehaviour. His findings were in agreement with Lacey's (1970), in that he found two sub groups, the anti school and pro school groups. Mixed ability teaching was promoted in the school through the English department on the basis that it improved discipline, not on ideological grounds, suggesting the importance of the pragmatic to teachers. Although his work is primarily a study of pupils, he draws out a number of

findings that are revisited in this research such as: teachers do not identify with their institutions; and their skills and contributions are no longer valued.

Hargreaves (1967) talks a great deal about the importance of discipline to teachers, whilst Woods (1979) considered discipline to be a major pre-occupation of teacher culture.

Another of Hargreaves' conclusions is that the process of teaching lower ability classes is mutually dissatisfying, mainly because the curriculum is inappropriate. He returns to this theme later (1982) when he talks of the inappropriate application of the intellectual/cognitive domain which leads to pupil failure, partly, he adds, as a result of teacher incompetence. One strategy of teachers who cannot maintain discipline is to withdraw, to ignore the problem. Another strategy is to try to dominate the class. Both instances lead to underachievement amongst pupils who fail to learn in either circumstance: echoes here of Huberman's disengagement.

Hargreaves (1982) considers the nature and future of the comprehensive school, again, like most of these works, from the perspective of the underachieving, largely working class pupil. He suggests that pupil strategies are not silly, but complex responses to fear. He supports the notion that schools are based upon a conflict model where school is a despotism based upon a form of subordination called discipline. The counter culture of pupils attempts to restore the dignity that the hidden curriculum has attempted to destroy. Hargreaves invoked the concept of multiple selves, in the idea that we all live in several social worlds. Yet, he classified types of pupils without reference to the fact that pupils will behave differently in different settings, perhaps even in different subjects, with different teachers, in different environments. All practising teachers will be familiar with

the scenario at the end of the school day in the staff room when a comment is made about how difficult a pupil has been, and the debilitating riposte is made: 'He's all right with me.'

He asserts that one of the major problems of the curriculum and its constant testing is that it is turning knowledge into a commodity that is only to be found taught in schools, thus making other forms of knowledge illegitimate. What constitutes legitimate knowledge is an aspect of the bureaucratic nature of schools, and its dehumanising effect (Woods 1979). Hargreaves recognises the reciprocal nature of identity and work, the fact that both shape each other. Beyond this Hargreaves, D. makes a number of generalisations about the status, competence and social relationships of teachers, but qualifies these comments with recognition that most analysis is lightweight.

Subject teachers spend much of their time working with pupils, but there is little in the way of literature which recognises the common interests of pupils and teachers. Most work, as will be explored in the section on 'conflict theorists,' is premised upon conflict theory. However, Woods (1979), looking primarily at the impact of subject choice in third year pupils at a state Secondary Modern school, recognising similarities in the behaviour of teachers and pupils, drew a number of conclusions about the world of the teacher. He established the importance of humour as a strategy used by both groups to maintain dignity and to combat a process, called mortification, which threatens humiliation and degradation. He found that, for many teachers, control became their only aim. He called for schools to look seriously at the instrumental nature of their

organisations, to consider reforms (including smaller class sizes, de-professionalising teaching, and abolition of the head teacher) and for teachers to review their role so that schools can educate for life, and not just for work.

Later work on the cultural conditions of teaching has been pre-occupied with the erosion of teacher autonomy, the new conditions of the post ERA legislation and the development of what Hargreaves, A (1994) calls the new professionalism. New professionalism is defined in terms of an improved system of education, rather than in terms of the restoration of the status and autonomy (Day 1999) that had been steadily eroded in this later period (Grace 1985; Lawn and Ozga 1986; Ball 1988). Beck (1999) points out the dangers of autonomy (arrogance, elitism and producer self interest), the dangers to autonomy (technical bureaucratic authority) and the potential advantages of autonomy from the 'humanely educated and ethically committed' and the attendant values of independent judgement and dignity.

New professionalism carries with it different values to those previously identified with 'licensed autonomy' pre ERA. Barton (1991) has identified the following values with this new professionalism: the values of business, utilitarianism, and the technician, whilst Hoyle (2001) continues in the same vein: contracts, accountability, customer-led service, competency, managerialism, externally defined tasks, and collaborative implementation. Hoyle, whilst calling for a review of status, draws our attention to a line of thought that would rather have teachers relinquish claims to professionalism in favour of a more political alliance with parents.

Later discussions are similarly centred around two opposing views of professionalism which have been summarised by Whitty (2000) as activist and entrepreneurial and, in a similar fashion by Sachs (2001) as democratic and managerial. Porter (2000) argues for a 'democratic imperative' that is essential to a participant democracy as opposed to the values of 'aggression, competitiveness, and inequality'. Some of the indicative values of the 'activist' or 'democratic' professional have been identified as: flow of ideas, faith in the individual, critical reflection, concern for the common good, concern for dignity, democracy as a guide to life (Sachs, 2001). They appear to be mutually exclusive, although the work of Troman (1997), in Primary schools, argues that increased intensification of the teachers' work has generated greater teacher interpretation, motivation and resistance (as well as compliance) and this has enhanced professional values, such as autonomy.

What does research in the Primary sector have to say?

In addition to Troman (1997) there is a rich tradition of research into the nature of work in the Primary sector. Sharp and Green (1975) made one of the earliest contributions to our understanding of teachers' intentions and outcomes. Their work illustrates the contradictions between the teachers' moral commitments and the consequences. The book investigated a mutually recognised, but not consensually understood ideology, child-centred development (CCD). Interestingly, the four teachers in the school studied did not share the same understanding of this 'ideology'. The head teacher recognised that his staff may not share his own perceptions of CCD and so he determined to 'force' his

teachers into accepting an ideology that he defined, and that they recognised, but interpreted in different ways. Sharp and Green's work falls within the 'structuralist paradigm' (Ball and Goodson, 1985) which considers the constraints of society to be such that individuals can make little impact within an increasingly centralised system. In fact, Sharp and Green dismiss CCD as 'neo-idealism'. Ball and Goodson (1985) suggested that the research paradigm had moved on, to consider the creative strategies and responses of teachers to societal and situational constraints. Sharp and Green's (1975) work was, in essence, a study of policy implementation, rather than a study of the impact of teachers' values.

Nias (1989a) claimed that teaching was heavily dependent upon the substantial self as the occupation is an individual art not subjected to the collegial constraints of other occupations. She concurred with Woods (1984) that teachers may adopt bridging devices, which enable teachers to survive situations, which are at odds with their substantial selves. Another interesting point to emerge from the work of Nias is the notion that strongly held views of the substantial self, especially if confirmed by another colleague, can become a barrier to changes in teacher thinking. Additionally, can it be that, if curriculum and assessment changes are centrally directed, teachers of strong values, teachers who are fully committed to teaching, may find themselves in conflict with the QCA and be deemed to be disengaged (Huberman 1992)? Nias believed that she had identified the reason why Brighouse's ideal of a shared value system is difficult to obtain. Teachers in her research sample tended to resist discussion of issues that threatened their substantial self as they did not distinguish between the occupational and substantial self.

They preferred to talk to reference groups which shared their views, outside their school: religious, political, family, friends, other schools, people from courses and other groups and individuals. As a result a common language did not develop amongst teachers. They held views, but did not articulate them.

There is little recent research on how much motivation, or freedom, teachers have to express their values, particularly in the Secondary sector. Stronach (2002) identifies the works of Hargreaves (1967), Ball (1981), and Willis (1977) as seminal works for their time. To this list should be added the work of Lacey (1970), Woods (1979), Nias (1989), and Huberman (1992). Substantially, their work is about teaching pre ERA. Stronach calls for more evaluation, because of all the new initiatives. Yet he identifies a lack of courage amongst researchers in offering a critique of the 'audit culture' because of the need to bring in funding. This research, in a small way, contributes to a critique of the audit culture.

Pupils and teachers.

It is important at this point to stress that the purpose of this literature review is to identify work that can be built upon for exploring teachers' values and teachers' occupational experience. Central to this occupational experience is 'the attempted capture of the minds of the young by adults' and the ways in which pupils rebel against this move by authority figures (Schostak 1984 p7 and 13). The focus is not the pupils' values themselves. This section highlights issues that are likely to be relevant to the research problems, and which can inform more detailed explanation. One of these issues is the dissatisfaction felt by

pupils with the study of both English and Science (Millar, Parkhouse et al 1999) particularly with boys in Science and English, and girls in Science in Years 10 and 11. Austin-Ward (1986), although a pre ERA study, indicates that pupils have little time for pleasure and enjoyment in English. Science (James, 1998) leaves pupils disappointed. Its narrow, positivist approach leaves little space for the exploration of those practical, sometimes vocationally, related areas that interest pupils and cross neat school subject boundaries, such as genetic engineering and biotechnology.

Earlier in the thesis a body of work on pupil values and schooling (Ball, 1981; Hargreaves, 1967, 1982; Hoyle, 2001; Lacey 1970. Murdock; 1975; Woods, 1979) was necessarily reviewed. Many of the points raised by these authors emerge in Cullingford (1991), who interviewed over 100 Year 6 (last year of Primary) and Year 7 (first year of secondary) pupils. This work is useful as it explains something of the history of secondary pupils before they arrive at Year 10, which is the focus of the thesis in phase two. Pupil questioning, although more fully articulated in their later years, is developing in these early years. Some of the dilemmas of schooling are highlighted and strategies for dealing with them explored. He refers to the power struggle between pupils and teachers as one of these dilemmas. Another significant one is the apparent contradiction between expressed values and actual values. This is particularly confusing for these younger pupils as Cullingford claims that they assume that the school and themselves share the same values.

In terms of pupil performance Cullingford argues that the most successful children are those whose curiosity has been engaged in making sense of schoolwork. Instrumental purpose dominates their learning and rarely relates to their own experience. Pupils want schools to prepare them for jobs, and they want education to explain how to do things, not just to know about them, but they also want to know about the world in which they have to work. However, pupils are left to test out their ideas, and their values, with each other, rather than within the formal curriculum of the school, or with the teachers. Pupils want to make sense of what they are learning, and to talk about the purpose of schooling, but they rarely get this opportunity. One of these areas of interest to pupils is that of politics, the uses of power and authority, an area of the curriculum that the school studiously avoids, although these themes are played out every day through school rules and regulations. Cullingford finds that pupils consider rules in terms of pragmatics, rather than morality. It is not only pupils who are denied the opportunity to discuss the purpose of schooling. Teachers do not have this opportunity either with each other or with pupils. Finally, schools do not appear central to the world of most of his pupils; schools stand apart from the rest of the pupils' communities.

Willis' (1977) study of working class boys in 'Hammertown' was able to theorise about how pupils responded to the apparent conflict between their macho anti-intellectual values and the 'effeminate' middle class values of the school. This work has been criticised on a number of occasions (McRobbie 1978; McFadden, 1995) on the basis of its narrow, male-orientated view of resistance. Willis describes how pupils create an oppositional sub-culture, largely based around 'having a laugh'. They reject the standard

classroom relationship of the teaching paradigm, where the pupil gives up control of the classroom in exchange for knowledge. These pupils reject this teaching paradigm and penetrate, or understand their position within the ideology, and effectively reject it. These penetrations are subjected to limitations, such as gender, racial and occupational prejudices. The net effect of this is that pupils, because of the partial nature of their penetration are vulnerable to notions of self-oppression, and conform to certain expectations. For example, pupils will continue to have a laugh to the detriment of their own educational chances, irrespective of the opportunities that may, or may not be offered to them. Their opposition is limited to survival techniques, which may challenge the culture of the school, but not the underlying nature of schooling.

It would be a mistake to consider pupils to be powerless in the face of schools and teachers. Giddens (Layder 1994) refers to the changing balance of power between pupils and teachers whilst Pervin and Turner (1998) provide an account of the bullying of teachers by pupils in an inner London school. This theme of pupil resistance, and their strategies, is evident in the many writings of Woods (1979, 1980, 1990). This point is returned to again because he not only examines pupils behaviour, and the strategies for coping that underpin then, but he begins to draw parallels between the behaviour of pupils and the behaviour of teachers. For example, he examines the use of laughter from the point of view of the teacher. Laughter can be used to control a situation, sometimes to subvert it, and often to do both. He relates the issue of pupil strategies to teacher response. He recognises that teachers can be drawn between two models of teacher: the bureaucrat, and the person, and that the teacher is tempted to oscillate between the two,

determined on occasions by the need to survive. He recognises the links that schools have with wider society, through the occupational demands of the labour market, for example, but he asserts that at most levels of school organisation small but effective change is possible and can address the needs of pupils and teachers.

This section on pupil values began with an assertion that teacher and school values are, on occasions, congruent. This work needs to explore the validity of this statement. For if, as the literature suggests, teachers are often in conflict with the values of the pupils, how much more stressful can it be if the teacher also finds themselves in conflict with the values of the school? Conflict is used in this sense in a very general way. Conflict can cover a feeling of unease, through to what might be called deviant behaviour, in terms of the school's culture. Sachs and Smith (1988) considered that teachers conformed, and were unreflective, and accepting of the status quo, whilst Huberman's dynamic model offers potential insight into the journey teachers take on the route to disengagement.

In the next section the work of systematic theorists in the field of conflict is explored, to see what they can offer in answer to the questions raised to so far.

Research questions derived from the review of teacher culture

- How do teacher cultures differ across schools and subjects?
- How far is a conflict model of the school reflected in pupil response to teacher values?
- What happens to teachers who find their values are in conflict with teacher culture?

‘Conflict Theorists’

This section is concerned with identifying those concepts, processes and analysis that are of significance to a study of values. Appendix two summarises the sensitising concepts explored here and in the previous two sections. Much of the work referred to here is of those who accept the legitimacy of grand, totalising, social theories (Layder 1994), but not all. Some social theorists, such as Foucault (1977, 1980, 1984) would reject this stance, and some aspects of this approach are dealt with later in this section, particularly the notion of dispersed power.

This work draws upon neo-Marxist and Critical Theorist, and Postmodern theorists (Appendix one: Statement of the researchers’ values). For the sake of brevity these will be referred to as ‘conflict theorists’, although it is recognised that Conflict Theory in its broader sense does not always imply these three traditions. Critical Theory is invoked because, as was stated earlier, it involves a critique of society in order to unmask the rhetoric of shared values (Lawton 2002). The distinction between these terms is not a crucial methodological issue for this work. They are used here to allow the reader to better locate the interpretative framework of the thesis.

The work draws more particularly upon dialectical materialism (Marx and Engels. 1968); the idea that our thoughts, beliefs and values are shaped within the context of our material conditions. The implication is that although we are free to determine values, this is a constrained freedom; they are shaped within conditions that are not of our own making, and values should therefore be studied within specific contexts, or situations rather than

in a metaphysical sense. As social conditions are dynamic, due to the dynamic nature of capital, conflicts, tensions and dilemmas abound. The major conflicts are connected to the differing interests of social classes. These interests are bound up with their different relationships to the ownership and production of capital. But, these are not the only issues of conflict dealt with in this thesis, many more conflicts emerge throughout this work. However, at this point it is sufficient to mention two specific points of conflict, which are, later, further developed, to establish the validity of 'conflict theory' as a methodological approach.

One conflict is that between the values embedded in the social relations of past, or diminishing modes of capital accumulation, such as those associated with the factory system, and the values associated with a post industrial economy. The first could be viewed, for example, as more stable, or traditional, and the latter as more fragmented. A second point of conflict is over the distribution and use of power, as with the power of the teacher, and the power of the pupil, a significant issue in a value such as respect, for example.

Marx wrote extensively about value. His concept of value was concerned with the production of surplus value as a result of the exploitation of labour. However, Marx's use value (a good or service's social usefulness) and exchange value (a good or service's value in terms of a measure used for all goods and services) can be used, in part, to explain the nature of values in a paradigm of technocratic meritocracy (Bowles and Gintis, 1976), and the values of a commodified education system (Apple 1995).

It is worth repeating here how use and exchange value can be applied to usefully breakdown the concept of instrumental value. Throughout the data collection in phase two teachers and pupils raise concerns about the nature of instrumental value. In Science, iron ore, its refinement and uses are studied in depth. In English, Shakespeare is studied in depth. Some pupils and teachers openly dispute the practical use value of this study. Added to this the exchange value of the qualifications that some pupils achieve is below a grade 'C' at GCSE. The exchange value (the access this gives to employment or study) is low. The low use value, and the low exchange value means that for some pupils subject value has low instrumental value, and yet subject study is often justified in these terms. It will be shown later that this leads to a distortion of instrumental value. The subject is justified in terms of certification or use whilst the satisfaction or pleasure of intrinsic value is denied. In reality, especially in Science, the drive for instrumental value is an attempt to reduce risk and limit disruptive behaviour. This, as will be shown, has the effect of disengaging both pupil and teacher from their subject study.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) look at how the social order is reproduced and in so doing provide a number of concepts that can be used to analyse the nature and transmission of values. In their concern with reproduction they stress the active role of the individual (or agent) in the process. Individuals do not simply receive values, for example. They are active in the receipt of values and in so doing change them, before projecting values themselves. How this is achieved is described in terms of the social and cultural capital drawn upon by the individual. Cultural capital can be 'objectified' in terms of cultural

goods, or 'institutional', in terms of certification, for example. Social capital is the capital of the group, such as the family, school or university. This distribution of cultural and social capital through power and status is embodied in the long lasting dispositions of mind and body, which they call habitus. Part of the function of schools is to allocate this social and cultural capital to pupils, labelling deviant those who do not possess it (Apple 1995).

Tripp (1993) takes the idea of habitus one stage further in his exploration of professional habitus which he defines as:

an unconscious and unexamined value which had been taken for granted or 'lived' rather than having been questioned and rationally thought through. (p 19)

This thesis unearths and explores the frequently unexamined values of teachers, those that are taken for granted and lived. These values may not emerge in a straightforward way from an analysis of what a teacher may explain as values. There may need to be a further exploration of concepts that arise, and there may be a need to unearth the 'lived' aspect of values. In the concept of professional habitus there are implications for the methodology of the research, in that the practice of teaching needs to form part of the field research. In Tripp's meaning of lived values it must be the case that they are shaped, constrained, or indeed derive from the culture of teaching.

Giroux (1983) places values

in the context of lived antagonistic relations, and need to be examined as they are played out within the dominant and subordinate cultures that characterise school life (p111).

As we have already seen, this is compatible with Hoyle's (2001) understanding that the teacher mediates between the worlds of children and adults, school and work, school values and adult values and, Giroux might add, different class, gender and racial interests.

Giroux (1983) argued that there is a consensus that schools are not simply agents for the engineering of discrete behaviours through a school curriculum that is socially and politically neutral (p 45 - 71). Something of the flavour of the different interpretations of this can be seen in the disputed validity of the correspondence theory that is explored below. However, an agreement that the school is a political and social site of partiality allows greater attention to be turned to the nature of that partiality.

Analysis of school partiality requires that we do more than look at 'the stated purposes of school rationales and teacher prepared objectives to the myriad beliefs and values transmitted tacitly through the social relations and routines that characterised the day to day school experiences' (p 45). This brings us back to Hargreaves' (1982) concepts of formal curriculum, hidden curriculum and the hidden curriculum of the formal curriculum. There is a danger of tying ourselves up in disputes over descriptions. Giroux is wary of this and warns that definitions of the hidden curriculum greatly outnumber the analyses of its form and consequences. To avoid the inevitable dispute over definitions a broad ranging definition of schooling is used that is not so broad that it is meaningless, but not so narrow that it constrains our research. Giroux's (1983) definition is an important one.

Schooling as I use the term, is distinct from education in that it takes place within institutions that serve the interests of the state. These are formal institutions directly or indirectly linked to the state through public funding and certification. (p 241)

The significance of this definition is that it links the school to the rest of society specifically through funding and certification. The local management of schools and the funding that is allocated to them encourages competition between schools, and the level of pupil certification 'produced' by a school is central to the school's place in the market (Skidelsky 1989; BBC 2001; Henry and Thornton 2001). The imperative of competition embodied in the curriculum and testing arrangements in England, are mediated by the Government and the QCA and become, in part, the imperative of the school. Schooling is concerned with how the school serves this imperative and other values, and this study will examine the effect of these on teacher values.

Bernstein (1975) is important for this study as he draws our attention to the significance of subject and pedagogy in the cultural transmission of norms and values. Classification is concerned with subject boundaries, and framing with power in the pedagogical relationship. The way that these are combined within the school is tied to issues of power and change. A school's dependence upon traditional subject boundaries and hierarchical teaching (collection code) may reflect perceptions of the distribution of power within the school and the relative power of teachers over pupils, or the ascendancy of the values of a particular part of the middle classes. Similarly an integration code of weak subject boundaries and negotiated teaching framework might reflect perceptions of the relative power of pupils, or the values of another section of the middle classes. These two codes are idealised models, and the reality may be better represented as fluctuation between the two over time and space.

Schooling in practice is ably summed up in Giroux's (1983) definition of the hidden curriculum as:

those unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom life. (p47)

This definition of the hidden curriculum offers windows through which to study the values of classroom life. The pursuit of an understanding of the underlying rules, relationships, routines and structures, that are taken for granted, or unexplored in the classroom resonates with further exploration of Tripp's (1993) professional habitus.

The work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) provides some insight into the tensions surrounding values in school. Giroux (1981), attacks Bowles and Gintis' work on correspondence theory for presenting a 'monolithic view of domination' and Bernstein (1986) criticises the theory for not taking into account 'change, conflict and contradiction'. However, a close reading of Bowles and Gintis finds a work of greater subtlety than one would anticipate from Giroux and Bernstein's critiques. They recognise that schools are contended ground and that correspondence is uneven due to class, gender and racial differences, and subject to the desire of individuals to satisfy social needs. The major weakness of Bowles and Gintis from the point of view of the two research problems is the lack of supporting primary evidence. For Bowles and Gintis correspondence is between the social relations of the world of employment and the social relations of the school. The 'mechanical relationship' of school with the economy is disputed by Apple (1995 p. 16) who prefers the term 'coupling', but Bowles and Gintis do not argue that the relationship is mechanical. They argue that the economic development of society and the desire for stable social relations of production create a

crisis for schools. Capital accumulation requires constant growth and change. However, stability is provided by constant social relations, which depend, in part, upon constant values. Yet, the constant change in the economy undermines these very constants, leading to a crisis of values in the school system.

The direct link between schools and the economy is due to the twin purposes of schooling: the need for skills, knowledge and attitudes of the work environment; and what Dewey (Bowles and Gintis 1976 p. 102) calls 'the social continuity of life'. Education is called upon to equip pupils with the cognitive resources of the labour market, but also to reflect and reproduce social relations that pupils will meet later in life. There are often conflicts between these two purposes as the development of cognitive skills in the pupil may conflict with the development of continuous social relations. One of the significant characteristics of these relations is that of the domination of teachers and the subordination of pupils. Other characteristics are the grading of pupils in preparation of occupational allocation and the legitimisation of the current social order.

This brief outline of correspondence theory frames their discussion of values, as it is in the correspondence of social relations of production and social relations of the school that values are formed and pursued. They argue that values and the other characteristics of consciousness are 'formed, transformed, and reproduced in the process of bringing the individual into line with the needs of capital accumulation and the extension of the wage-labour system' (p47). Bowles and Gintis see that the institutional relations 'to which students are subjected' is the major way in which the school fosters 'certain capacities'

and 'thwarts' others (p129). They draw heavily upon the work of Dewey (1966), with whom they agree in terms of his 'democratic' aims, but consider his failure to link education more overtly to the prevailing economic system dooms his efforts to only brief or partial success.

They argue that two paradigms operate in education. Their dominance changes with changes in the comparative strength of working class organisation and the needs of a dynamic capitalist system. These two paradigms can be briefly summarised as technocratic meritocracy and democratic. The first is identified with instrumental values and the latter with intrinsic value. The school of technocratic meritocracy would emphasise cognitive skills and the allocation of economic reward on that basis. Apple (1995) argues that this leads to education being valued like any other commodity. A commodity is bought in order to be sold, and is not desired for its own intrinsic worth. In this case school offers skills, knowledge, attitudes that can be 'bought' at school and 'sold' in the labour market. The democratic model would be more allied to notions of personal development or, as Dewey would refer to it, as growth. These two paradigms represent another point of conflict in our consideration of values. A further conflict is that between the needs of the individual and the needs of the community. In their thesis of the link between the social relations of production and those of schooling they draw upon the concept of alienation, and describe in general terms the experience of labour:

Moreover the worker is normally isolated in work. Fragmentation of tasks precludes solidarity and co-operation. Hierarchical authority lines effectively pit workers on different levels against one another, and since workers do not co-operatively determine the important decisions governing production, no true work community develops. Lastly, the powerless, meaningless, and isolated position of the worker leads to the treatment of work merely as an instrument, as a means toward attaining material security, rather than an end in itself. But work is so important to self definition and self concept that the individual's self image crystallises as a means to some ultimate end. Hence the worker's self estrangement. (p72)

This vision of the nature of work is one of instrumental value, where the ends are too far in the distance, or hidden from view, to give meaning to daily tasks. Lawton (2000) draws a parallel between the concept of alienation, which results from over regulation, and anomie, which also describes estrangement from the subject's environment, but due to under regulation. Hargreaves, A. (1994) in his notion of 'balkanisation' certainly recognised the isolation of teachers.

The notion of self, the teacher as a person and multiple selves has already been explored. Building upon the Marxist idea that in large part our consciousness is determined by our material and social conditions Bowles and Gintis describe how pupils' self concepts, aspirations and social class identifications are shaped through institutional relationships.

Education works primarily through the institutional relationships to which students are subjected. This schooling fosters and rewards the development of certain capacities and the expression of certain needs, while thwarting and penalising others. Through these institutional relationships, the educational system tailors the self-concepts, aspirations, and social class identifications of individuals to the requirements of the social division of labour. (p129)

Bowles and Gintis were concerned with the reproduction of the social relationships required for capital accumulation. Their focus was upon how these relationships are determined in pupils. The focus of this work is how these processes shape the self-concepts and aspirations of teachers. Systematic theorists of the neo-Marxist, Critical Theorist paradigm often reject empirical work (Giroux, 1983 p 210) as ignoring the deep structures of reality (such as history), and the value laden nature of understanding (particularly efficiency and technical control). Empirical work is condemned as instrumental and positivist. This work strives to address this failure of 'conflict theorists' to link theoretical and empirical work.

Gramsci (1971) offers an explanation of how people see the world. Ideologies bring about a conception of the world that informs conduct within it and is accepted by many as 'common sense'. Gramsci took ideology and explained the dominance of some ideologies in terms of hegemony. Hegemony is leadership of a society through dominance and consent, using intellectual and moral leadership (Clarke and Hall et al, 1981). When ideologies combine to form an hegemonic block they are often seen as common sense, even though they may combine conflicting elements. Hegemony prevents the consideration of alternatives, because the alternative is not common sense.

How common sense permeates society is considered below after further consideration of the importance of ideology. Ideologies are also mutually recognised in that there is common acceptance of their dominance. However, although a consensus view of mutually recognised ideologies may be accepted by some, in practice individuals interpret these ideologies differently, as was seen in the case of child-centred development and the three infant teachers in Sharp and Green (1975).

At first glance, the work of Althusser (1971) and his inclusion of schools in the ideological state apparatus suggests a minimal role for the values of the individual teacher in the face of an overwhelming structure. Althusser's work derives from a French system where a civil service teaching force administers the national curriculum. In these circumstances an argument for the marginal influence of teachers' values is a credible position. The concept of ideological state apparatus raises important questions and

provides a contextual picture for a study of values and schooling. Althusser provides further insight: he argues that the ideas of human existence are in their actions. This has important methodological implications for a research project like this, as the teachers' own behaviour in the classroom may reveal values in a way that interviews do not.

Gramsci (1971) identified two ways in which the ideas of society are acted out. Norms represent the authoritative standards, or types that embody ideas, whilst imperatives are authoritative advice, actions, that take precedence over other ideas. These are useful concepts in the exploration of values. The first embodies values in behaviour, and directs us towards explanations of actions, rituals and procedures. Imperatives open up the idea that some values may have precedence over others, on the basis of some external authority. Dewey (1966) has already explained that instrumental values may be measured in terms of some third thing, or further end, and, as we have seen in this section on schooling, the source of that measure may derive from an authority outside the school itself (Giroux 1983).

One external source of imperatives would be the authority of technical rationality. Schön (1983) argued that whilst the model of technical rationality undermines confidence amongst 'professionals' the real world was far too complex to sustain such a model, as it cannot deal with the uncertainty and complexity of the real world. Marcuse (1972) nonetheless argued powerfully that the values of society are largely sublimated to the needs of a technology that serves the purposes of capital.

Technology also provides the great rationalisation of the unfreedom of man and demonstrates the 'technical' impossibility of being autonomous, of determining one's own life. For this unfreedom

appears neither as irrational nor as political, but rather as submission to the technical apparatus which enlarges the comforts of life and increases the productivity of labour. (p.130)

The very act of thinking is constrained by the concrete, pragmatic nature of the technological world. Concept development is difficult, and relies upon images, which impedes thinking. This technical rationality becomes political rationality and merges with the needs of the economy. Productivity and growth are the imperatives of this society. People do not necessarily believe what they are told, or act on what they value. They act on what justifies itself in action, on what works. He questions the Marxist concept of alienation, arguing that we see ourselves reflected, not in our work, but in our consumer goods. Illich (1971) takes up this idea when he argues that consumption is the new world religion. Marcuse (1972), meanwhile, argues that Science has become dislocated from ethics

True, the rationality of true science is value free and does not stipulate any practical ends, it is 'neutral' to any extraneous values that may be imposed upon it. But this neutrality is a positive character. Scientific rationality makes for a specific societal organisation precisely because it projects mere form that can be bent to practically all ends. (p128)

Science can be bent to any ends, and will carry the values of the society that arises from within it. It will also, in its application, impose values that derive from the practice of science. Dennis, one of the Science informants, for example, later explains how the uses of ammonia were not accidental, they were driven by the need for weapons during the first world war. Science carried the values of society in the search for that weapon; it also shaped that society by its successful application. Science, within the value systems of society, also created the ammonia that was used in fertilisers, and this also raises questions about how this fertiliser was then used (critics would site over intensive, factory farming). Technology, (and Marcuse would include science here), determines

society's logic. Science asks how its discoveries can be used, rarely, if they should be used.

Giroux's (1997) reference to the culture of positivism further informs understanding of 'value free' Science.

The logic of positivist thought suppresses the critical function of historical consciousness. For underlying all the major assumptions of the culture of positivism is a common theme: the denial of human action grounded in historical insight and committed emancipation in all spheres of human activity. (p 12)

The positivist tradition derives from a scientific methodology of explanation, prediction and control, as opposed to the interpretative tradition of the social sciences. Central to scientific methodology is the manipulation of variables to bring about a particular state of affairs. Positivism rarely asks questions about which state of affairs should be controlled or developed, and whose interests these states of affairs serve.

The work of Marcuse (1972) can be used to explain a perceived lack of values. Values are absent because the nature of society is such that this would involve imagining an alternative, and to imagine an alternative in such a technologically dominant world is difficult, if not impossible. The debate about the role of the individual in the determination of their own environment is an important one as it provides insight into the possible pursuit, realisation, or frustration of teacher values. Giroux (1983) and Aronowitz and Giroux (1993) identify what they term the dualism of agency and structure. They (also Apple, 1995) investigated the role of human consciousness in determining human action. In some ways this was a response to the mechanistic determination of orthodox Marxism. The reference to the economic base of society and

its cultural and social superstructure tended to lead critics of reform to neglect the role of individuals in changing material conditions (Althusser 1971). Throughout the 1960's and 1970's the cultural tradition attempted to redress this balance by recognising the role of human agency through Thompson (1966) and Williams (1973).

Apple (1995) established the notion of the school as a contested social site, where ideological subordination was not to be taken for granted; a view that challenged the determinism suggested by Althusser when he placed the school at the centre of the ideological state apparatus. Giroux contends that, although the traditions of structuralism and human agency have added to our understanding of the school's role in ideological, cultural and economic formation, this dualism has limited our ability to understand what constitutes meaningful educational reform. The limitations of agency and structure arise from a failure to address the interaction of the two and, therefore, an inability to understand the influence of the teacher on their educational reform and other aspects of occupational culture.

Giddens (1976) argued that the dualism of conflict theorists should be replaced by the duality of structure. 'Conflict theorists' are tempted to see the individual against the structure. So there are a number of conflicts between, for example, structure and action, objectivism and subjectivism, macro and micro, society and the individual, institutional and interpretative. Giddens' concept of the duality of structure argues that structure and individual action are two sides of the same coin: structure is not external to action. The things that people regularly do form part of the social fabric of their lives, and 'that this is

the proper focus for social analysis' (p 132). It is not important to recognise the distinction between duality of structure and dualism. Either conception of the relationship between the individual teacher and the school recognises the tensions that exist for teachers operating within a school. Dialectical materialism (Marx and Engels 1968) reconciles the tensions in the constant development of new social formations, and understands the constant creation of new tensions. It is this tension that is important for us methodologically, as will be seen in the next chapter (Winter 1982).

Sachs and Smith's (1988) review of the 'Teachers Problematic' and 'Hidden Pedagogy' describes tensions faced by teachers through the duality of teacher and school. The teacher's first priority is to be able to survive within the school, and so they develop survival and coping strategies based on their own, individually developed cultural schemes of what teaching is about. Dominating this whole process is the perception that the exercise of authority is central to the role of a teacher. Research into values needs to take these 'survival' strategies, based upon individual conception of authority into account.

A further issue relates to communication. How do teachers communicate within the social relations of the school? How do they forge their understanding of the complex nature of social relations? Hargreaves (1982 p 200) describes the characteristic nature of classroom dialogue between teachers and pupils. Teacher dialogue is unlike adult dialogue in that it moves in only three ways. It starts with a teacher determined question that is expected to provoke a pupil response. The teacher then evaluates that response and ends the

conversation. Teachers carry this style of dialogue forward into their talk with other adults. This means that communication is limited to affirmation or contradiction of the teacher's position. If this is indeed the case then teachers will have difficulty developing understanding of their social relations as they will be thrown back upon a strategy that is almost binary in nature. In addition, the initial question will derive from the teachers' own understanding, and therefore any statement or question which does not receive the anticipated answer could be threatening.

Habermas' (1981) analysis of communication is important here. Essentially, communication in schools is strategic (manipulative) in nature, driven by instrumental reason. In other words communication, particularly between pupils and teachers is driven by a further purpose. This purpose may be, for example, to ensure that pupils know the 'right' answer. So, the teacher in asking a question to which they already know the answer would not occur in a normally honest and straightforward communication between two people. The question has an ulterior motive, and the questioner, the teacher, may disguise that motive. Communication for purposes associated with instrumental reason, leads to one dimensional thought as the result of 'sanctions, gratifications, force or money' (Habermas 1982 p. 269). A more open and genuine form of communication is embodied in communicative action that is sincere, intelligible, appropriate and true. In communicative action

Participants may harmonise their individual plans of action with each other – that is, they may co-ordinate their action plans – but one individual or class of participants does not seek to get another to conform their action plans to their own (Young 1990, p.103).

The purpose of communication in this idealised state is for people to reach a shared understanding without hidden motives, coercion or extraneous reward. On an understanding that schools operate strategic communication driven by instrumental reason we can see that communication, in the Habermasian sense, can be manipulative.

Resistance is another useful concept. Resistance theorists (Willis 1977; Everhart 1983; Giroux 1983; Fine 1991) use the concept in terms of the behaviour of subordinated groups of pupils.

Resistance in this case redefines the causes and meanings of oppositional behaviour by arguing that it has little to do with the logic of deviance, individual pathology, learned helplessness (and of course genetic explanations) and a great deal to do, though not exhaustively, with the logic of moral indignation. (Giroux p 107)

Giroux invites us to treat oppositional behaviour as a critique of society. So, deviance from the norm should not attract blame, but should be analysed in terms of the underlying values of the situation. Giroux offers a word of warning. Not all oppositional behaviour should be regarded as resistance. The distinction between opposition and resistance is not a purely technical one, but is a values position. He cites the example of McRobbie's (1978) paper which details opposition amongst sixth form girl pupils as being, in part, oppositional, because, as the girls demonstrate 'aggressive sexuality' their behaviour is in opposition to the school values of neatness, passivity, compliance, femininity and repressed sexuality. However, this oppositional behaviour is based upon 'an oppressive mode of sexism' and demonstrates an indifference to schooling rather than a resistance to the values of schooling. As Sultana (1989) warns, resistance is limited by the values systems of the wider society, the society beyond the school. To use a concept which we

came across earlier, there are imperatives at work which do not derive from the school itself, but which dominate aspects of teacher and pupil experience.

Teacher opposition is not necessarily resistance either. A failure to comply with curriculum and assessment demands, for example, can be as much an indication of laziness as resistance. However, Giroux's (1983) point is well made. There are reasons for oppositional behaviour, and if they are based upon moral indignation then they are resistance behaviours that challenge the prevailing values of the school – from what Giroux considers to be a legitimate stance, of opposition to domination, class, gender, and racial inequalities (p 114). The concept of resistance is not values free, but is values laden. Apple expands upon this.

Rather than the labour process being totally controlled by management....one sees a complex work culture. This very work culture provides important grounds for worker resistance, collective action, informal control of pacing and skill, and reasserting ones humanity. (1995 p 22)....Clearly then, workers resist in subtle and important ways. They often contradict and partly transform modes of control into opportunities for resistance and maintaining their own informal norms which guide the labour process. Whatever reproduction goes on is accomplished not only through the acceptance of hegemonic ideologies, but through opposition and resistances. We should remember here though, that these resistances occur on the terrain established by capital, not necessarily by the people who work in our offices, stores and industries. (1995 p23)

Apple raises a number of issues relevant to the schooling context. Teaching is a complex work culture, where the social conditions required by the prevailing ideology are reproduced. This reproduction is not simply the result of the dominant hegemonic ideology but is also due to the opposition and resistances of people who wish to assert some control over their working conditions, and who wish to reassert their humanity and work within their own 'informal norms'. Reference to informal norms suggests a resonance with Nias' (1989) substantial self. This resistance may be expressed as control over pacing and skill, but it should be remembered that resistance is constrained by the

fact that the ground on which it takes place is determined by capital and not by the people who work in schools. Following from this analysis it is unlikely that teachers will have a complete values' systems, but rather a number of partial, and conflicting values.

The possibility of finding fractured and conflicting values is a warning against monolithic analysis. Monolithic is used here in the sense of an overarching, 'one size fits all' analysis. Giroux (1992) offers a link between neo-Marxism and postmodernism. Postmodernism offers perspectives that counter some of the deterministic and monolithic tendencies of neo-Marxism. Neo-Marxism tends to see things in a structuralist sense, reducing the significance of the agent. This tendency is also present in the sweeping language of hegemonic blocks (Gramsci 1971) and social class (Marx and Engels 1968)

Postmodernism is a culture and politics of transgression. It is a challenge to the boundaries in which modernism developed its discourses of mastery, totalization, representation, subjectivity, and history. Whereas modernism builds its dream of social engineering on the foundation of universal reason and the unified subject. Postmodernism questions the very notion of meaning and representation. (Giroux. 1992, p. 118-19)

A study of teachers' values is entering a potentially huge and unknown area. It requires that the notions of meaning and representation be questioned. To this extent postmodernism is, at the very least, a reminder not to take a prescribed perspective and apply it carte blanche in the desire to provide and answer research questions that neatly fit a world view. It is important that the perspectives that are used offer insight and meaning. It is important not to view power, for instance, as the prerogative of a dominant, monolithic block. Teachers, despite their domination by the structures of education, are not powerless, and pupils despite their domination by teachers, are not powerless either. Power is dispersed and can be used in different ways (Foucault 1980).

The fracturing of traditional Marxist ideologies (Livingstone 1995) is also a warning that a totalising world view is inappropriate as Marxists frequently fail to take account of empirical analysis and conceptual revisions. Livingstone argues that the weakest area is the limited conceptual development in the internal relations of the educational system. Research fails to explain the nature of resistance and he calls for the researcher to open up their thought processes and move beyond the functionality, economic determinism and hegemonic analysis of neo-Marxists. Foucault (1980), for example, offers a perspective on where power resides. This is particularly interesting in the light of teachers' experience of the power of pupils (Hargreaves 1982; Pervin and Turner 1993). Indeed Giddens (Layder, 1994) describes the fluctuating balance of power between pupils and teachers as the dialectic of control.

What is to be built upon?

Many of the concepts, processes and analyses described in the sections on teacher values and culture, and conflict theorists have, for the purpose of this work, limited but significant application. The purpose of the studies from which they have come have been largely concerned with the impact of schooling upon pupils, and their preparation for the labour market beyond schooling. This thesis shifts the focus of study to embrace the values and occupational culture of the teacher. It looks at the effects of schooling upon teachers, and teaching as work. It is centred on the values attendant to the social relations the teacher has with other teachers, and with their pupils. It is in this light that the 'sensitising concepts' (Giddens 1976) are taken forward. These sensitising concepts are not exclusive or definitive. Sensitising concepts 'offer ways of seeing, organising, and

understanding experience....they provide starting points for building analysis, not ending points for evading it.' (Charmaz, 2001 p515) Sensitising concepts central to the thesis are summarised for the benefit of the reader in Appendix two.

This thesis aims to add to our understanding of how teachers' values interact with their occupational environment. It aims to explore how teachers make things happen. Layder (1994) identifies this as a weakness of Marxism as it is unable to accommodate the 'finer, more complex characteristics of interaction' (p 49). 'Conflict theorists', in general have looked at ideological underpinning of social practices, but have ignored practical forms of knowledge production, distribution and legitimation' (Giroux, 1997).

Apple (1995) details the work that needs to be done and outlines a research project which this thesis, in part, addresses.

Just like in the workplace, any theory of the school's role in economic and cultural reproduction must account for the rejection by many students of the norms that guide school life. In fact, this very rejection of the hidden and overt curriculum gives us one of the major principles from which we can analyse the role of our educational institutions in helping to produce the social divisions of labour and inequality in corporate societies. For much of the way our schools function in roughly producing knowledge and agents for a labour market is related....at least in certain segments of the working class, to a rejection of the messages of schoolingAnalyses of this rejection can provide insights that can help us go a long way in seeing part of both the social functions of and the values promoted by the school.We must enter the schools and see it first hand. We need to find out what meanings, norms and values, students, teachers, and others really act on in schools. (p88)

Once again Apple is focused primarily on the effects of schooling upon pupils. However, if these gaps in our knowledge are true of pupils, how much less do we know of the effects of schooling on teachers? The questions raised in the context of pupil response to schooling need to be only slightly adapted for them to be used to consider teacher response to schooling. The school needs to be entered, in order to see the norms, and values that teachers act on, and the norms and values that pupils respond to. This is also

the case if the nature of teachers' values is to be considered in context, and if their effect upon teacher engagement and motivation is to be considered.

Apple argues that it is the analysis of the rejection of values and norms that can provide the greatest insight. This approach is adapted to study the effects that schooling has on teachers, and which may also provide insight into the effects of schooling upon pupil values. The methodology required to study this rejection of norms and values is considered in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter begins with an overview of the research process. It briefly discusses the phases of the research, the research questions, and the traditions that are drawn upon for the analysis. A statement of the researcher's values (Peshkin 1988; Halliday 2002) is to be found in Appendix one. A discussion of the problems and issues associated with the research design, including questions of validity and reliability is found in Appendix three (a). The chapter continues with an account of the research in the pilot phase and phase one. Then there is an account of the research in the intermediate phase, phase two, and the dissemination and thesis refinement phase.

Overview of the research process

At the beginning of phase one two questions were pursued: a) What do teachers want to achieve in teaching during a period of increased control and accountability? B) How do they feel about their beliefs in the context of their work? Following a pilot of five tape recorded and transcribed interviews, which encouraged teachers to explore their motivation to teach, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a total of nineteen secondary school teachers (Appendix five) from two 'comprehensive' schools, *Southside* and *Northside*, in the same local authority. There then followed an intermediate phase of reflection and research model modification. During this period of approximately one year a new phase of research was designed to collect data suitable for dilemma analysis, and the research questions were refined as a result of reading (Chapter Two) and early

analysis of data from phase one. During this intermediate phase the focus of the research moved from beliefs, which explain why something is held to be important, to a study of values. This change in emphasis looked at what teachers held to be important, and the relationship of these values to the occupational experiences of teachers.

In phase two fifteen semi-case studies with eight English and seven Science teachers (Appendix six), from five separate schools, provided pre and post observation transcripts from interviews, and a single post observation transcript from interviews with groups of between four and six pupils. The final dissemination phase took place over eighteen months and included individual feedback on findings and a 'dissemination day' where ten of the fifteen teachers attended to give oral, and some limited written feedback on early findings from this thesis. The final, refinement phase, involved further analysis of the data from phases one and two.

The eclectic nature of the analysis (Layder 1994) is justified on the basis that qualitative research is an investigative process. Miles and Huberman (1984) argue that the sample can change, and the process re-defined because one lead connects to another, and one relationship reveals the next. So it is with this research; with the change in focus from beliefs to values, from the intention to conduct single semi-structured interviews with one hundred and fifty informants in phase one, to a semi-case study of fifteen teachers and their pupils in phase two.

The structure of analysis follows Spradley's (1979) work and has three stages. The first stage is to identify parts of the culture of teaching that are relevant to the study. This

study identifies the Self, the Subject, Schooling and Pupils to be relevant parts of the culture. These relevant parts are a product of the framing of the research, both in terms of the sample, the research tools, and the research problems. There is no claim in this work that these parts are exhaustive or definitive.

The second stage of analysis is the link between these parts, what Spradley (p 186) calls themes, or values. Values are often tacit rather than explicit. This requires inference on the part of the researcher. In phase one, because of the frailty of the research model, themes/values are restricted to those that are explicit. The values of phase one became explicit after the intermediate stage of the research process, and as phase two began to be analysed. In phase two, because the research model is more robust, and there is greater rapport, inference is at a second level of shared cultural meaning and explores more tacit themes/values. The themes/values that are identified from the data play an important role in the realisation of subject study, schooling through the hidden curriculum, self-identity and engagement.

The third level of analysis, according to Spradley, is the exploration of the relationship of the parts to the whole. This is done through the research questions. The whole, in this case is the context of the research as framed by the two research problems, the parts of teacher culture (Self, Subject, Schooling and Pupils) and the values that link them. The research values of respect, teacher, exploration, and curiosity offer insight into the problems associated with a perceived breakdown in teacher values, and the propensity for teachers to disengage. These three levels of analysis did not emerge sequentially, although they are presented as separate stages. It is difficult, if not impossible, to

disentangle the process. Analysis began soon after collecting the data from the first couple of interviews in phase one, and continued during the drafting and re-drafting of this thesis.

The analytical process used in this research lies within the realist tradition (Silverman 2001). Meaning is verified through the use of different informants and the cultural inferences recognised by those who occupy the cultural domain of teaching, and those who believe in the significance of 'conflict theory'. However, whilst working within this tradition the researcher is also aware of 'a stubbornly persistent romantic impulse within contemporary sociology: the elevation of the experiential as the authentic' (Silverman 2001 p 823). Although a type of truth, this work does not claim certainty from analysis of data which depends overwhelmingly upon the interview. Tapes are a public and more complete record of the interviews that took place than field notes can be, but they are not a complete record. They cannot record, for instance, non verbal communication, and tapes are not authentic representations of the teaching process.

Silverman (2001) makes us aware of another tradition: the narrative approach. This sees data as a series of cultural stories drawn upon by the informants in order to present a view of themselves. The narrative approach is not the predominant analysis used in this study. However, cultural stories offer another way of seeing the data that is drawn upon when appropriate, but in a limited way. Initial analysis of the data was conducted by starting at the beginning of the interview and proceeding line by line, marking the script with reference to values (things or ideas considered important to the teacher). Silverman

(2001) argues that this approach has the danger of generating superficial analysis. This could have contributed to the perceived 'thinness' of the data from phase one. In phase two, and on returning to the data produced in phase one, Mason's (1996) procedure of identifying a puzzle (in this case dilemma) was used, and the researcher then worked backwards and forwards from the dilemma through the transcripts looking for further evidence and meaning. A more detailed consideration of the problems and issues associated with the research design is to be found in Appendix three (a).

A combination of thematic induction, coding and theoretical exemplification are used to analyse first phase data and dilemma analysis is the predominant method used for analysing second phase data. Thematic induction, which lays itself open to charges of researcher bias, is suggested as an appropriate methodology for a first stage in a lengthy participant observation study (Winter 1982). Thematic induction was also used to a limited extent in phase two in the sense that it would be unrealistic to ignore the researcher's intuition in following up a dilemma when being immersed in the data. Theoretical exemplification (Winter 1982) was used in a further attempt to move beyond the, at first glance, rather anodyne results emerging from phase one. However, it was the comparison of results from thematic induction, coding and theoretical exemplification with the QCA schema (1997) of values that proved to be the important breakthrough in the development of the analysis. A more detailed account of the analysis of phase one data can be found in Appendices three (b) and (c).

Dilemma analysis, the prime method of analysis in phase two, is positioned within the traditions of conflict theory, although Winter tries to detach the method of dilemma analysis from the interpretative frameworks that are concerned with 'patterns of motives, ideologies, or institutional structures and relationships' (p165 – 166). Dilemma analysis in this thesis is situated within the sensitising concepts identified in Chapter Two and summarised in Appendix two. Dilemma analysis was piloted on phase one data, before being used extensively for analysing phase two data, and an account of this is to be found in Appendix three (c).

A note on interviews and transcription.

There were nineteen interviews in phase one, and forty-five in phase two. The researcher carried out all the interviews. This is considered important. Inference in particular relies upon rapport, empathy and understanding of the cultural domain of the teacher.

Participation in the interview, and awareness of the broader cultural environment of the classroom and school is crucial for this rapport, empathy and understanding. In addition, in -two the researcher observed lessons of all the informants, providing further insight into the teachers' circumstances. All nineteen interviews in phase one, and thirty seven of the forty five interviews in phase two were transcribed by the researcher: Academic typists transcribed the remaining eight. Ideally, the researcher would transcribe all the interviews. Meaning, nuance, and text are lost when transcription is completed by a third person, and this was avoided as far as possible after experiences in the pilot phase and an early trial of third party transcription in phase two. However, pressure of work towards

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the end of data collection in phase two required the researcher to call on academic typists to transcribe a small number of the remaining interviews.

An account of the research in the pilot phase and phase one.

The reader is also referred to Appendix three (a): problems and issues associated with the research design. For a further account of analysis the reader is referred to Appendix three (b). The methodology in these two phases progressively focused (Somekh 1995) on stage one of the analysis; the parts of the culture relevant to the research questions (Spradley 1979). In Chapter Four these parts are shown to be the values contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject, and Pupils, with their characteristics.

Pilot phase (1996)

Some findings arising from the pilot are referred to in this section. They are raised here simply because they shed light on the nature of the research methodology used in phases one and two.

Five teachers were contacted and asked if they would be happy to be interviewed. Three were teachers that the researcher had worked with as a secondary school teacher (Elaine, Russel and Richard) and two were contacts developed through the researcher's work in initial teacher training (Roy, Helen.) Four were interviewed in their classrooms, and Roy was interviewed at the university. The interview schedule was semi-structured and devised in conjunction with Professor Cullingford. The questions were modified in the light of experience. The interviews were recorded on a hand held micro-cassette. The tapes were then sent to academic typists for transcription. During this process two of the tapes were stolen after a break in at the academic typists' office.

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The three transcripts that were returned were analysed using a form of thematic induction that was refined for phase one. The transcripts were read and re-read. Then, a one page summary of the findings was produced. This revealed a number of 'positive' and 'negative' values. Positive values were aspirational, or seen as life enriching, or giving pleasure, how the teachers would like things to be, and were summarised from the data. A selection is presented here.

Respect, sharing of knowledge, co-existence, rounded development, pay and conditions, satisfaction at achieving exam results, relationships with staff outside school, access to education for all, high expectations of pupils, choice.

Whilst negative values were regrets, pleasure reducing, or life impoverishing, such as

Apathy amongst pupils, book based learning, teaching as a 'profession', exam results, mixed ability teaching, lack of interest amongst working class pupils, the National Curriculum's labelling of pupils.

A number of issues were to receive further consideration as a result of this exercise. The first was the decision to focus upon positive values in future interview schedules: how teachers would like things to be: an ideal. Negative values are an expression of frustrated aspiration. For example, mixed ability teaching was categorised as a negative value by Roy because it did not help children to achieve the best exam results possible. Rather than cataloguing a series of frustrations future research would directly seek out the realised, desired, idealised, or frustrated aspiration.

The second issue was that teachers had different perspectives on values. For example, exams were a positive value for Roy in that he considered them to be important for pupils, and pupil success in exams gave him pleasure.

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...the highlights, getting youngsters through examinations. I remember in August going along looking at results at A level an O level and GCSE thinking, have I done my very best for these students.

He later questions whether happy relationships based upon a relaxed atmosphere are based on pupils not being pushed enough to get the grades of which they are capable.

However, Helen has a different attitude towards exams:

they don't matter to me, they're not all important. I'd rather think they'd learnt something and that they'd enjoyed it, that would be more important to me.

Examinations are a negative value for Helen. The two perspectives on exams have implications for assumptions about shared values, and are explored in greater depth in phase two. A number of technical matters were also raised. The technical feasibility of interviewing, recording and transcribing was established, and a more sophisticated tape machine was later used that would cut out background noise, and record onto tapes that could be used on a transcription machine available to the researcher. The researcher decided that transcription by a third party has drawbacks: two tapes were stolen and the turn around of tapes from recording to transcription and return to the researcher took a considerable amount of time, between six and eight weeks. Extended turn around time and reduced opportunity to re-play tapes runs the danger of reducing insight and the quality of cultural inferences (Altrichter, Posch and Somekh 1993).

Phase one (1996 – 7)

Phase one involved nineteen semi-structured interviews in two schools, *Southside* and *Northside*. The results from this phase are to be found in the next chapter. They address the first research question (What are the values that are important to teachers?) and contribute to the framing of the five remaining questions.

In these nineteen interviews schedules of questions were used which encouraged teachers to describe the influences and motives that underpinned their perceptions of pupils, teaching, teachers and schools. The interviews took place in the head and deputy head's room, because these were quiet and available, although this location could also have constrained the responses of the informants. The interviews lasted for anywhere between half an hour and one hour, depending upon how forthcoming the informants were. The schedule for the second school (*Northside*) was modified in the light of experiences in the first school (*Southside*).

Two findings from phase one shape phase two

It is worth repeating here that the research process was, in this phase, heuristic in terms of methodology and the thesis. The first phase was exploratory and evolved when new questions were added to the interview schedule after analysis of the Southside transcripts. This meant that there were more focused questions in the Northside schedule, reflecting the notion of 'indefinite triangulation' (Cicourel 1973). A full exploration of the findings in this phase is pursued in the next chapter. At this stage it is worth referring to two findings that shape phase two of the research in order to address issues of methodology. The first finding is that the values of the subject are important to teachers, and yet these are not recognised specifically in the QCA (1997) values statement. The second finding is that the teachers' interpretations of values differed, on occasion, quite markedly.

The first finding in this phase can be described in two ways. The first is as a type of truth that is to be found in the experiences of a number of teachers (De Bono 1996 Tarnas

1996), and predominantly at the first level of inference, whereby the data is 'relatively unambiguous' (Altrichter, Posch and Somekh 1993). The second finding is more problematic. The data suggests a number of issues that are worthy of pursuit, such as the importance of 'Respect' as a value. However, rather than make any claims as to the nature or significance of this, which would be hard to validate given the research process in this phase, these rather more subjective inferences (at levels two and three) are pursued through further research questions.

This process generates two findings. The first is more easily validated: that teachers in the two schools value their subject highly and yet the significance of this is not recognised by the QCA. The second finding: that there are mutually recognised, but differently interpreted values, calling into question the notion of shared values, cannot be validated in the same way. This second 'finding' is cautious and provisional, and contributed, after reading and reflection in the intermediate phase, to the production of research questions that are further explored in phase two.

The sample

The non-probability sample of nineteen teachers was stratified by age, gender and subject differences (Appendix five) and was drawn from two secondary schools in the same local education authority (LEA). Ten of the sample were between forty-four years and fifty-five years old, and nine were between the ages of twenty-nine and thirty-nine years old. Ten were male, and nine were female. The desire was for a broad range of subjects to be represented.

The 1988 Education Reform Act was, arguably, the key event in the move from the autonomous teacher, to the post autonomous teacher (Grace 1985; Lawn and Ozga 1986 ; Ball 1988) who was subject to much greater curriculum, assessment and environmental constraints. The original intention, therefore, was to create an 'autonomous' and 'post autonomous' data-base that would help to identify changes in pupil experience resulting from the changes in secondary teacher circumstances. It was intended in phase one that three sample cohorts would be chosen to provide this data, through semi-structured interviews of between 30 minutes and one hour, tape-recorded and transcribed.

The teacher samples were to be drawn from ten Secondary schools in the North of England. In addition to the age requirements the samples were to have a gender balance and a spread of subjects. The pupils were to be drawn from two sixth form colleges in the area and would recently have left some of the schools from which the teacher samples were to be drawn. The 'post-autonomy' and 'autonomy' categorisation of the sample was later abandoned as too complicated and impractical. The decision was made to pursue current intention and practice with regard to values in English and Science in Year 10 classes in phase two. The names of the informants and the schools were changed to preserve anonymity.

The schools for phase one were chosen because the researcher had visited the schools on other matters, and they would in some part reflect the range of academic success within one local authority. This range was identified in terms that dominate the current paradigm

of education: pass rates at GCSE. The sample is to a certain extent opportunistic (Cohen and Manion 1989, Bell 1993) as the schools were chosen because of the good relationships that the schools had with the university. In addition, the interviews in the first school, Southside, were all undertaken within one school day, so the sample depended upon who would be there, and if they could be freed through cover by the head teacher. This was also true of the second school from which data was taken, Northside, although the interviewing took place over two days, and so there was a little more flexibility. The sample also had an element of snowballing, as the head in Southside, and the deputy head in Northside contacted the informants on the basis of age, gender, and subject.

The involvement of the head and deputy does have the potential to further distort the findings, as the difficulties of 'freeing' teachers could have been used to distort the sample by criteria hidden from the researcher. However, the spread of subjects, ages, and responses, suggests that distortion, if it took place, did not lead to a seriously biased sample. The head and deputy understood that the researcher wished to interview teachers who would be prepared to talk, and they also commented that the sample would not consist of one 'type' of teacher.

Data collection

The interviews were arranged for the researcher by the head at *Southside*, and the deputy head at *Northside*. They took place in their respective rooms. The informants were more formal than the researcher had anticipated. The absence of a pre-interview meeting meant that the researcher had little influence over the presentation of the research project to potential informants. By the same token, this was the first and last time that the informants would meet the researcher, thus making the enquiries less threatening and intrusive than they might otherwise have been. If repeated, the likelihood is that the same responses would have been generated, as there was little scope for the deviation from the interview schedule. Informants were encouraged to use the language that they would use with their peers, so that this language could be explored. Spradley (1979) calls this 'native language explanation'. Taking Spradley's premise that words are symbols that refer to something else, 'native language explanation' provided an opportunity for revealing underlying meanings.

In *Southside* in particular the researcher did not take full advantage of the opportunity to explore difficult, and potentially interesting comments, such as Eric's admission to having 'negative attitudes' (P5 L10) and Louise's dismay that 'people are more suspicious that you are being checked up on.' (P5) On reflection, these were missed opportunities. The data collection in this phase was characterised by a tendency on the part of the researcher to privilege the informant's account (Dingwall 1997) to the extent that in the *Southside* interviews the researcher rarely asked for further explanation, or expansion.

Halliday (2002) recognises this to be a mistake. In the *Northside* interviews this tendency, although still evident, was reduced through follow up questions, leading to richer data.

A battery powered cassette recorder was used for all the interviews. The microphone picked up the voices of the researcher and informant, but excluded background noise. The microphone was normally placed upon a table between the two participants, whilst the recorder was kept on the floor so as to be as unobtrusive as possible. The impact of recording the interviews on the informant is impossible to judge. Teachers did not falter, or glance at the recorder, so there were no outward signs of discomfort. The recording allowed the researcher to concentrate upon the direction of the interview, rather than focusing on recording the comments by hand, either at the time that would disrupt the flow of the conversation, or afterwards when the researcher was reliant upon memory.

The researcher was dressed formally, with jacket and tie for the interviews and stressed his experience as a classroom teacher. The researcher tried to build rapport (Cicourel 1964; Fontana and Frey 2001) in the short time available with the use of encouraging body language, and the occasional encouraging comment. The aim was to encourage positive participation in the interview, rather than to pass judgement on the informants' contribution.

The researcher transcribed all nineteen interviews within a few weeks of each interview. This allowed the researcher to use the recording to 'revisit' the interview and to transcribe where an academic typist may have had difficulty. The researcher could

identify muffled parts of the tape and was familiar with educational terminology. The tapes were transcribed word for word, including grammatical errors, hesitancy and *non-sequiturs* in order to retain something of the atmosphere, and nuances of the interviews. A foot operated transcription machine was used. A default rewind ensured that the previous five seconds of the interview would be automatically replayed each time the recorder was activated. This increased the accuracy of the transcription. There were a number of lessons to be learnt from phase one. In phase one the tapes were used again, and the original recordings were not retained and there was no feedback to the informants, therefore the checks on accuracy and the opportunities for informants to develop points, or to correct mistakes was not made available. These deficiencies were to be avoided in phase two.

The interview schedules

The schedules were designed to explore the 'meanings, norms, values' (Apple 1995) that teachers act on in order to see the relationships that exist between the teacher and their constrained conditions. In this first phase the desire to see what teachers acted on determines that the questions are of a practical rather than a philosophical nature. The questions often asked about use, rather than meaning. Spradley (1979 p 156) argues that the response to this type of questions is more detailed. It is pertinent to remind the reader at this point that the schedules were designed to explore beliefs in such a way that it would explain why teachers held something to be important. The analysis, and reading during the intermediate phase, changed the focus to the question of what was believed to be important: values.

The questions in the schedules fall into the three ethnographic types described by Spradley (1979 p 60) in order to ensure a range of responses that would reveal underlying values and could be followed up, normally at the end of the interview with 'Earlier you said that...'. The three types of question with an example taken from the Southside interviews are:

- Descriptive questions such as 'Can you describe to me a lesson that you have enjoyed recently?' Questions like these were designed to explore the teachers' language; and to base the response in practice, rather than meaning.
- Structural questions such as 'what are the major influences on you as a teacher?' Questions like these were designed to identify the ways in which teachers see their place in society. For example, do they see themselves as influenced by factors outside, or inside the school?
- Contrast questions such as 'Are you different now to how teachers were when you were at school?' The purpose of these questions was to explore meanings, such as what was meant by 'formal', 'discipline', 'respect' and so on.

The interview schedules were used to refine the larger research problems of teacher values and teacher engagement into six specific research questions. This process of refinement, or progressive focussing (Somekh 1995) began after collecting and analysing data from *Southside* and produced a number of changes in the *Northside* schedule. For example, the post ERA perspective in *Northside* saw the replacement of one question, 'what are the major influences on you?' with eight practical questions designed to draw

out meaning by inviting contrasts between aspirations (e.g. how would you like pupils to remember you? How would you measure success as a teacher?) and perceived reality (e.g. how would you describe the background of the pupils at this school? What motivates them?).

Finally, in *Northside* informants were asked to identify the values ‘you consider most important to you.’ It was asked at the end of the interview to avoid the temptation of the informant to present a coherent and socially acceptable account (Fontana and Frey 2001). Asking this question at the end would increase the possibility of the answer being framed by the previous, experience based questions.

Analysis of phase one

The data from phase one was used for level one of Spradley’s (1979) analytical framework; identifying parts of the culture of teaching relevant to the study. These parts were ultimately identified as the values contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject, and Pupils.

This process was iterative and involved the three approaches previously referred to. Although each had their limitations (Appendix three (b)) they brought a fresh perspective to the data. In particular they reinforced the significance of exploring the situational self, the self as teacher and revealed how the QCA (SCAA 1996) overlooked the significance of Subject and Pupils in their statement of values.

An account of research in the intermediate phase and phase two.

The reader is also referred to Appendix three (a): problems and issues associated with the research design. For an account of the dilemma analysis (Winter 1982) used as a pilot on the phase one data, before being used extensively on phase two data, the reader is referred to Appendix three (c). The methodology in these phases focused upon stages two and three of Spradley's (1979) levels of analysis; the links between the values contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils. This is done through dilemma analysis of the research values of respect, teacher, exploration and curiosity.

Intermediate phase (1997 – 8)

This phase allowed time for reflection on phase one data collection and analysis, and for writing up of early findings. Discussion of the findings with peers at the 'Values and the Curriculum' conference' (I.O.E 1997), continued reading, particularly of the 'conflict theorists', discussions with Professors Cullingford and Somekh and the comparison of the research values with those of SCAA's (1996) 'statement of values' led to a re-appraisal of the research model.

The emergence of the methodology was an iterative process. A case in point is the correlation between QCA values contexts and categories emerging from phase one analysis. The significance of the characteristics of the teacher within the values contexts of Self, Subject, Schooling and Pupils became apparent within this time. Disentangling the precise moments of analysis serves little purpose, except perhaps to confuse the reader.

The reading undertaken during this phase concentrated upon those who could explain the apparent thinness of the responses in phase one, and those who could explain the range of responses to, what seems at first glance, simple issues of communication and respect. The reading was guided by a desire for explanation but, also, for insight into the next phase of fieldwork data collection. It was built into the research model that there would be adaptation after an exploratory phase. The revision was more radical than anticipated. However, it led to a sharpening of the aims of the research, and the formulation of the research questions tabled earlier. Recognition that more detailed examination of, and lengthier immersion in, the work of a small number of classrooms led, with the support and guidance of Professor Somekh, to an application to the Gordon Cook Foundation (GCF) for funding to allow access to fifteen teachers and their classrooms. The work completed for the GCF had the aims of:

- Exploring the nature of teachers' values as developed and transmitted in the classroom;

- Gauging the impact of teachers' values on pupil experience;

- Developing materials, based on the findings, for use in teacher professional development. (Butroyd, R. Somekh, B 1999)

The focus of this work was the interaction of pupils and teachers, and the production of 'dilemma cards' that would foster discussion between teachers on the nature of their values. This focus was different to that of this thesis, in that the concern was, ultimately, with the pupil experience. However, the research model was designed specifically to allow the collection of data that would inform the two research problems of this thesis:

- a perceived fracturing of values in society, and schools in particular

- a propensity of teachers to disengage from the teaching experience.

The Gordon Cook Report (Butroyd and Somekh 1999), along with the paper to the American Education Research Association Annual Conference (Butroyd and Somekh 2001), derived from the report, did not make use of phase one data. Nor did they make use of those parts of the pre-interview relating to the pre-interview questionnaire, the heuristic tools of values contexts (Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils), or the characteristics of these contexts and their role in revealing something of the forces that shape the different understandings of values. The common aspirations of teachers and pupils are absent, as well as the 'preferred teaching exchange' developed in later chapters. Consequently, where the report and paper touch upon the research questions the analysis is underdeveloped, particularly with regard to the corresponding experiences of teachers and pupils, and the resulting intensification of the mortification of both.

Phase two (1998 –99)

In the discussion of methodology used in phase one the results from the fieldwork were referred to in order to clarify methodological procedures. This is also the case in phase two, where the focus of the work was to explore the nature of values arising from interviews with teachers and observation of their classes, in Year 10 Science and English, in the context of the two research problems. Five schools were used to produce the sample, and the names of the schools and the informants are fictional to preserve anonymity.

The sample

The sample was recruited on a similar basis to that in used in phase one: largely opportunistic and convenient, but stratified, in terms of a range of state sector schools, subject, experience and gender (Appendix six). The opportunity to participate in the research was put to the department head, often by the deputy, or head teacher. If access was agreed then the researcher was invited to put the aims and processes involved in the research project to the interested teachers. There was no compulsion to take part. Only one department refused to take part in the project. This was the Science department at *Engirl*. After consideration of the research proposal they declined the invitation. One of the reasons put to the researcher was that as far as they could see there were not any values in Science, they 'just taught the National Curriculum'; they could see no point. This issue is discussed later in the results chapters.

The revised research model for phase two focused upon a smaller number of informants, with reduced variables. Two subjects were chosen initially, Science and English, with a later opportunity to explore the values of an informant who taught English and Drama. The classes were restricted to Year 10, in five schools. The pupil informants were those of the teacher informants' Year 10 class. When requesting participation from teachers the guidance was for the school to provide a 'less' and a 'more' experienced teacher, and gender balance, if possible. All the departments managed an experience balance, except for the English department in *Co-edcomp* where the experienced teacher, Gerry, had twenty six years experience and the less experienced teacher, Roger, had twenty four years experience!

A break down of the gender balance reveals four female English teachers (and one female English and Drama teacher), and two female Science teachers, with three male English teachers, and five male Science teachers. One of the sample was non white, a Science teacher. An important consideration when drawing up a sample for phase two was to avoid the fractured nature of the sample found in phase one. There had been a large number of subjects represented in phase one and it was important, given the limited resources available, to reduce this variable.

A sample drawn from the GCSE years was considered important because of the significance of issues arising from the educational context referred to in Chapter One and the issues raised in Chapter Two concerning teacher values and culture. Year 10 classes were chosen because it was considered unlikely that there would be ready access to Year 11 classes because of preparation for the externally assessed and publicly accountable GCSE examination. Also, a significant part of the academic year would be excluded because of pupil study leave.

English, Science and Maths are the three 'core subjects' and are most likely to be constrained. Science classes were chosen because of Aronwitz and Giroux's (1993) assertion that Science is predominantly used as a 'selector', and the literature review indicated that Science teachers faced particular difficulties in raising values. English, on the other hand appeared to offer a fertile context for the raising of values.

The informants

The informants were all volunteers recruited after visits to the department by the researcher. The intention was to have two teachers from each department in four schools. The decision of the Science department at *Engirl* meant that only the English department took part here. In order to have an informant who was from an all girls' school with a largely south Asian pupil population a school with a similar profile was contacted, *Scigirl*. A visit was made to the Science department and one teacher decided to take part in the project. Seven English teachers took part in the project, and seven Science teachers. A further teacher, Millicent at *Churchcomp*, taught English and Drama. The lessons observed, and the pupils interviewed came from Drama lessons. Data from Millicent was used because it provided the opportunity for further insight into the nature of the pupil perception of English, teachers and schooling. Millicent was also the only 'less experienced teacher' in the English department.

The pupils were recruited after consultation with the teachers, often after the lesson observation. The researcher asked for four pupils, who would reflect a gender and motivation balance. The researcher suggested that pupils who had been involved in 'critical incidents' (critical is used in the sense of an opportunity to explore underlying value, not in the more commonly accepted meaning of a life changing incident). Barry at *Churchcomp* and Farouk at *Scigirl* provided five pupils because the pupils requested that they might attend. Derek offered the names of four pupils at *Boyscomp*, but only three turned up. The fourth pupil had gone home. The difficulties of developing rapport with

pupils are discussed in Appendix three (a). The final decision on the selection of pupils was that of the teacher informant.

The Schools

The five state schools were within a ten mile radius, in two separate education authorities. In *Engirl*, *Boyscomp* and *Scigirl* a majority (over 90%) of their pupils were of south Asian origin, largely Pakistan. Two of the schools, *Engirl* and *Boyscomp* were on the same site, divided by a service road. They drew their pupils from a wide area, but most came from a community which had been at the centre of two riots, one in the mid 1990s, and one in 2001. *Co-edcomp* and *Churchcomp* were predominantly 'white' (over 80%), and again, drew their pupils from across the area, *Co-edcomp* because it was perceived as a 'successful' school, and *Churchcomp* because it was a Catholic school.

Data collection

Modifications to the process of data collection developed in phase one have already been noted. The researcher conducted himself in the same way in the interviews as has been described in 'Data collection' and 'Interview schedules' in phase one of the research process, and took account of the issues raised in Appendix three (a). The interview schedules were devised with descriptive, structural and context questions in order to explore the language, feelings, and meanings associated with values. Data collection took place in a concentrated period of time. This did vary, but a typical data collection period would be over two weeks. The transcription and feedback of the first interviews would,

on occasions, happen before the post observation, but later in the project transcription and feedback could take place some weeks after the pupil interviews.

Interviewer assisted pre-interview questionnaire

An interviewer assisted pre-interview questionnaire was completed by the informant in the presence of the researcher and was used in a preliminary meeting between the two. There were a number of purposes for using this tool. Firstly, it was to be used to provide basic information about the background of the teacher. Secondly, it provided a starting point for a discussion of issues that had emerged from phase one that could be followed up later in the transcribed interviews. Thirdly, it was to encourage deeper thinking prior to the interviews and observations. Fourthly, and perhaps just as importantly, engagement over the questionnaire allowed the informants and researcher to talk informally, before tape recording, about issues of concern or interest. The administration of this questionnaire was an important first stage in building rapport between the researcher and informant.

Focussing upon the pre-interview questionnaire provided a 'legitimate' reason for discussions that allowed the informant to probe a little more deeply into the nature of the researcher and the research. At this stage, the researcher gave no feedback on the nature of the informants' answers. Clarification was offered. Largely, this was to establish that it was the informants' interpretation of key terminology, such as 'success', 'respect', 'discipline', and so on, that would be the focus of the research process. The answers that

the informants offered were returned to and explored in greater depth in the pre-observation interviews.

The questions were indicative of concerns of the nineteen teachers interviewed in phase one. The questions correlated closely to the QCA categories of Self and Schooling. What began to emerge from phase one was the significance of four contexts, Self, Subject, Schooling and Pupils. However, with the refinement suggested by Spradley (1979) the emerging significance was not their origins, but the way in which these values linked between the contexts, what Spradley would call the parts of the culture.

The values contexts of Subject and Pupil were not a specific part of this questionnaire as they were a central feature of the pre-observation interview, the classroom observation and follow up interviews with teacher and pupils were likely to provide ample data. The questioning started from the concrete and moved towards the preferences of the teacher.

Semi-structured pre-observation interviews.

As far as possible these interviews took place on the teachers' 'home ground'. They were asked to provide a room where confidential issues could be discussed. This was often their classroom, or a prep room, or an office they had access to. The interviews were taped on ninety-minute cassettes. The interviews varied in length between forty-five and ninety minutes each. The time delay between interview and observation varied between ten days and immediately prior to the lesson. A small time scale sensitised the researcher to the articulated values' positions of the teacher, whilst immediate immersion in the lesson sensitised the teacher.

The interviews for both English and Science teachers were structured in the same way. The interviews took place using a semi-structured interview schedule and focused on the teachers' practices to ensure that the response of the informant was as a teacher. They would enable the researcher to identify and explore the values that arose through the interaction of teacher and pupils within the context of English and Science. The schedules had four sections. The first section, under the sub-heading of Self, is concerned with revealing the motivation of the teacher for moving into teaching, and to indicate the current motivation of the teacher. These questions are concerned with their self image.

The second section is concerned with the interaction of Subject with Schooling. The five questions in the third section were used on a selective basis to interrogate the responses given in the pre-interview questionnaire. The questionnaire, being administered prior to this interview, offered the informants time to consider the issues, to dispute the ranking of such priorities and to explore in depth issues related to concepts in the questionnaire that derived from phase one of the research.

Sometimes the interviews ran the risk of being overlong. If the interviewer, or informant, showed signs of fatigue the fourth and last section, concerning the lesson, would be delayed until the post observation interview. These questions were an opportunity to explain in detail how the values articulated by the teacher can be related to the specific class to be observed.

Classroom observation

Classroom observation served two purposes. As a non participant looking for exceptions (Cohen and Manion 1989) it offered further opportunity in the interviews to explore values underlying a number of incidents, or instances (see 'Critical incidents' below). A second, major benefit of the observations was to increase rapport between the teacher and the interviewer, as the teacher felt that the interviewer had a greater understanding of the challenges facing the informant having seen their class. Observation was normally of one lesson, although in the cases of Keith and Millicent there were two observations because the teachers wished the researcher to see the pupils in two different classroom contexts.

The first observation was of Mary's class in '*Boyscomp*'. Notes were made on a single sheet of A4. There were no headings and observation notes were made chronologically. The interviewer then reflected on this process and drew up one page pro-forma with a number of headings. The pro-forma had to be flexible, as it was difficult to predict where in the lesson, or how, relevant data might arise.

The observation was structured in the following manner. *Ability* would be a description of the ability of the class provided by the teacher, e.g. mixed. (Jenny). Organisation of the class would have a sketch of the layout of the classroom. *Teacher presence* would be a few words e.g. supportive, but also assessing pupil performance (Jenny). Communication referred to the teacher and would be evaluative, e.g. approachable, authoritative, questioning (Jenny). Entry/Start would comment on how the lesson began, e.g. re-

organisation of classroom, preparation for tasks, paired work. *Subject matter* would be an account of events, processes and critical incidents with approximate timing and provisional analysis, e.g 9.55 come in “beginning of GCSE assessment’, assessment form in front (available for pupils to see) They (*pupils*) clap because they are nervous. Macbeth (Jenny).” In the case of Jenny four critical incidents are identified and are labelled i.e. Management issues: Use of music, why, what does it do?; use of the circle (*as a seating arrangement*). The second label was ‘Values issues’ (later referred to as pedagogical, as opposed to classroom management values): View of the murder (*of Macbeth*), issues of cowardice, bravery; ‘Hands stained with blood’ (*quote*), what is the difference between asking and pressurising? *Finish* in Jenny’s case was a ‘pupil assessment of the content of their script, *pupil* acting ability, paired work’.

Critical incidents: The researcher wanted to study critical incidents, not in the sense that they were life changing, but in the sense that they were opportunities to explore values. They were instances that might expose

underlying trends, motives and structures.....because they provide a means of enabling teachers to be more aware of the nature of their professional values and associated problematics, to question their own practice, and to concretise their generally held abstract notions of values such as social justice. (Tripp 1993. P35)

As an example, Tripp suggests that critical incidents can often be identified through certain adjectives, such as: *silly, interesting, funny, sad, witty, unfortunate, boring, good, trivial*. These instances were only critical when they provided opportunities to explore underlying values. The term can be misleading if it is mistakenly associated with life changing episodes. After a small number of observations it soon emerged that these ‘incidents’ were of two types: one was related to the nature of subject matter or pedagogy;

the second to classroom management or 'discipline.' An incident of each type was a basis for discussion in the post observation interviews with the teacher and pupils. Discussion of these 'critical incidents' in the interview would often lead to further responses from the teacher or the pupil, sometimes not specifically related to the 'incident'. Discussing these issues allowed the interview to continue at a deeper level than the descriptive. The 'incident' would, on occasions, be quickly dealt with as the teacher or pupil gave their perspective on the event. They may have had difficulty remembering such an 'incident', as it was not considered 'critical' by the informants. What it did, successfully, was lead the informant to the level of analysis that the researcher was looking for, to encourage the informant to go beyond the descriptive. On reflection it was a mistake to call these events within the classroom a 'critical' incident. This could be misleading, as the name can be seen to ascribe a significance that is not warranted.

Teacher: semi structured post observation interviews.

Interviews took place on the same day as the lesson. The schedule was designed to focus upon Self and Schooling in the subject lesson. It set out to explore the effects of these contexts upon teacher values. They explored the relationship between the private/substantial self and the public/situational self. The schedule evolved in the light of experience. The schedule became more detailed, and the interviewer more responsive to the nature of the interview. So, although issues were returned to, from different perspectives, questions were re-formulated or avoided if there was a danger of the informant simply repeating an answer supplied as an extension of a response to another question. The relationship between the interviewer and informant had developed at this

stage and the informant would offer information freely on occasions, without the need to ask the prescribed question.

At the end of the pre-observation interview the informant was asked for a copy of a lesson plan, or an outline of a lesson. This was asked for again at the beginning of this interview. These details were rarely forthcoming. The interviewer did not press this point as they did not want to damage rapport. Information required from this documentation, such as the aims of the lesson, was often obliquely referred to in the interview. However, specific reference to the contrast between lesson intentions and lesson outcomes was difficult to explore in the absence of this data.

The research value of curiosity emerged, after the first Science interview with Keith, as central values in the Science National Curriculum. The idea of the teacher as role model emerged in the English interviews. Informants articulated the importance of the role of the teacher with regard to their own behaviour. With Science teachers this was not always the case and so was deliberately inserted into their interviews. The rest of the interview was grounded in the observed lesson/s and explored specific issues, relationships and contexts. This interview was more likely to move away from the scheduled questions than the pre-observation interview. The aim of these interviews was to explore tensions in the teacher's values. This meant changing the order of questioning, eliminating some questions, and further developing others. However, the interviewer constantly referred to the schedule, and each question, and the merits of pursuing the question was considered in the context of the ongoing dialogue.

Pupil post observation interviews

Analysis of phase one data revealed the significance of Pupils as a values context. Until phase two their voice had only been heard through that of their teacher. Interviews took place after the observed lessons to allow pupils their own voice. The pupils' voice was then used to identify values and issues related to shared values, and the teachers' occupational experience.

These interviews took place as soon after the lesson observation as was practical. All these interviews took place on the same day as the observation. They took place in a room offering confidentiality to the pupils. Typically this would be in an empty classroom, or a room used for staff-parent meetings. The class teacher or other teachers were not present. The only exception to this was in the case of Sandy (Appendix three (a): Gender, ethics and sensitivity. P 19). The interviews took place in her classroom during one of Sandy's free lessons. They were conducted in one corner of the classroom whilst Sandy worked at her desk. Whilst it is impossible to measure the effect of this on her pupils, the interviewer suspects that this did affect the pupil response. An encounter with one of Sandy's pupils out of school, the issues of rapport and of issues related to group interviews are addressed in Appendix three (a).

Comparative and contrast questions were used to encourage analysis, and to discourage pupil 'enrichment' of answers. The strategy of grounding questions in the practical events of day to day interaction was used to avoid values 'inflation' – making claims in the

excitement of the interview that cannot be substantiated. These issues were pertinent to teachers as well, but in a group it is more difficult to explore the nature of language and meaning expressed by an individual pupil. They may be too embarrassed to explain, or may have said something that is an exaggeration as pupils attempt to outbid each other for attention. The questions relating to critical incidents explored the incidents observed in the classroom. The questioning was used to reveal values that may not be apparent from the observation and gave the pupil the opportunity to explain 'silly, interesting, funny, sad, witty, unfortunate, boring or trivial' events.

These interviews were much more organic than the teacher interviews, in that the pupils influenced the direction of the interviews through their own questions and references to other teachers, and group dynamics. The additional questions were therefore more likely to be changed, added to or dropped as a result of these influences. The questions concentrated upon the pupils' view of the teacher in the context of the lesson, and the school. The lessons explored possible tensions between pupil, teacher and school perspectives. Finally, the questions asked if the teachers gave opinions or discussed right and wrong. These broader, more open questions were asked at the end after an exploration of attendant issues in the earlier part of the interview schedule so that the answer would derive from a discussion grounded in the day to day practices experienced by the pupil.

Transcription of data and checking with informants

Copies of transcripts were posted to June, Jenny, Roger and Gerry, and delivered personally to all other teacher informants. Teacher informants were invited to make comments/corrections, orally, or in writing. Only Millicent chose to make minor amendments as a result of this process. A number of provisional dilemmas (Winter 1982) were then drawn up from each case study and taken to all the teachers in their school by the interviewer. These transcripts and provisional dilemmas were discussed in person with the teacher and they were invited to make comments. Minor changes were made as a result of these consultations and informants' contributions made at the dissemination day ('Dissemination and thesis refinement phase').

Analysis of phase two.

The data from phase two and the dissemination and thesis refinement phase are used for stage two and three of Spradley's (1979) levels of analysis. Stage two of the analysis involves exploring the research values of respect, teacher, exploration and curiosity through their dilemmas. These are the links between the contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils. The data from the fifteen key informants and their pupils, was analysed for 'hesitancy, puzzlement, uncertainty, a sense of difficulty or stress (Somekh 1995) and 'complexity, tension, and contradiction (Winter 1982). The transcript was then re-read, backwards and forwards from the dilemma to identify data relevant to the dilemma (Mason 1996). The data was analysed using the characteristics derived from the four values contexts of Self, Subject, Schooling and Pupils developed in phase one of the analysis. At the end of this process different dilemma positions were identified and

explored through reference to the sensitising concepts, pupil data and the wider literature review. Dilemma positions were used as heuristic devices to identify affinity with a position across a number of teachers. The positions were binary as a result of the methodological stance of 'conflict theory'. The first position would be defined in terms of what it could do, its thesis, and then, what it couldn't do, its antithesis. Consequently, the second dilemma position was assembled on the basis of data reflecting opposition to the first position.

The importance of dilemma analysis is that it uncovers the tensions between, and within values, rather than simply mapping values. The analysis highlights factors that preserve or undermine a dilemma position. The analysis focuses on the issues that surround values. A value position may identify a minority concern but this concern may reveal the assumptions that underpin a values position. For example, an individual teacher may feel that the term 'profession' is discredited because of associations with 'careerism' and 'managerialism'. Consequently, an appeal to a teacher's 'professionalism' is not an appeal to a commonly shared value.

Dissemination and thesis refinement phase (1999-2002)

A dissemination day was held attended by ten of the fifteen teacher informants to consider some of the early findings (p 128). Following this day many of the issues and much of the analysis was revisited, and reflections refined before the thesis was written. The dissemination day addressed early findings and considered other issues that were beginning to emerge through continued analysis. Ten out of the fifteen teacher informants

attended the dissemination day. Five did not attend for the following reasons: Jenny and June: the dissemination day clashed with their school inset day; Sandy, deceased; Mary, long term absence from work due to stress; Gordon, left teaching and working as a Paramedic, could not be contacted. Susan attended even though she had moved to the Midlands to work in a sixth-form college. Dennis attended even though he was leaving teaching altogether at the end of that term.

In the morning the dilemmas of English, Science and Schooling were considered. In the afternoon early findings and future analysis were considered. The feedback was verbal, and some written. Professor Somekh kept hand written notes of comments that were later transcribed. At the end of the data collection and dissemination periods the researcher returned to the data and early analysis from phases one and two, to further check the findings, extend the analysis and address the research questions. Chapter Four addresses the first stage of analysis through its identification of the four values contexts. Chapters Five, Six and Seven address stage two of analysis through the research values of respect and the teacher, the research values of exploration and curiosity, and the informants' pupils.

Chapter Eight addressed stage three of Spradley's (1979) analytical framework. This offers further insight into the nature of the two research problems of shared values and teacher engagement through the research questions that emerged from the review of values, culture and 'conflict theorists' in Chapter Two. Further explanation of the development of the analysis of phase two data can be found in Appendix three (c).

Chapter Four

Stage one of analysis: the values contexts of Self, Schooling Subject and Pupils.

The analysis presented here is the first of three stages (Spradley 1979). In Chapter Four, the first stage of analysis is derived from phase one of the fieldwork and addresses the first research question: what are the values that are important to teachers? In so doing it establishes four contexts of teacher values: Self, Schooling, Subject, and Pupils. It draws attention to the QCA's omission of the values of Subject and Pupils and to the way in which teachers drew upon the values contexts to interpret values in different ways. This theme is more fully developed in later chapters, which draw upon data collected from phase two of the research process. In the second stage of analysis, dilemmas arising from the values of respect, teacher, exploration and curiosity are interrogated through the values contexts and their characteristics (Appendix four). Four important issues emerge from this analysis in later chapters: the denial of intrinsic value, the creation of a distorted form of instrumental value, particularly in Science, the mortification of teachers, and the correspondence of experience between teachers and pupils. The discussion throughout these chapters draws widely upon the sensitising concepts from Chapter Two (Appendix two).

In this chapter the validity of the values' contexts of Self, Subject, Schooling and Pupils is established. It should be remembered that results in stage one of the analysis are important because they describe four research contexts used in stages two and three as analytical tools. Further issues raised here about the nature of Self, Schooling, Subject

and Pupils, are tentative because of the heuristic nature of the research model in phase one. The first research question asks: 'What are the values that are important to teachers?' In summary, this stage of the research reveals that values can be grouped into the four values contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils (Appendix four: Characteristics of the four values contexts). The values of Self and Schooling correlate to those values recognised by the QCA (SCAA 1996). The values of Subject and Pupils have no such correlation with the QCA statements.

Chapter Two revealed the difficulties associated with values that 'don't disturb unduly the established way of life' (Marcuse 1972). The data from phase one reflects this view, in that informants did not connect occupational experience to values beyond the occupational experience. Teachers did not articulate an alternative persona, core or substantial self at odds with the self as a teacher, although Irene and Mark did express discontent with the role. Consequently, Dewey's (1966) position, that educational values are often coincidental with educational aims, was used to identify what informants 'prized or esteemed'. The advantage of this perspective is that it moves values into the daily practice of informants.

Value meanings are constructed through the four contexts of Self, Schooling and Subject and Pupils. The absence of Subject and Pupils from the QCA statement is an important omission. These two areas, this research reveals, lie at the heart of the classroom experience. Yet they are ignored, relegating values to a 'bolt on' to the curriculum. Given this omission values can be considered to be a peripheral issue in the daily lives of

teachers and pupils. This is the position taken up by the Science department at *Engirl*, who declined to take part in phase two of the data collection. As far as they were concerned there were no values in Science, they just taught the National Curriculum. Betty, and Dennis, in the Science department, at *Co-edcomp*, had similar misgivings until they talked though what values might mean. For Dennis, who left teaching, the realisation that values were relevant to him came after his decision to leave.

Characteristics are qualities of the contexts derived from phase one data, some of which are also to be found reflected in the literature in Chapter Two. They identify the context used by the teacher informant to construct the different meanings of the research values of respect, teacher, exploration and curiosity in stage two. These characteristics when used to construct the meaning of the research values are attendant values (see Keywords pii). The characteristics of these values contexts are summarised in Appendix four.

The values context of Self

This section outlines the nature of the research context of Self as teacher identity. The correspondence between the research values and the operational criteria of the QCA context of self locates the Self in the practices of the school and explores the informants' concern with the values that should be presented, or developed through the school, or their lessons. It locates the notion of Self within the construct of the 'teacher'.

This construction of Self is premised on the idea that the Self is not an essential core (Foucault in Layder 1994). Self is constructed in response to the characteristics of

specific contexts (Sikes, Measor, Woods 1985), particularly that of education (Bowles and Gintis 1976) and is influenced by Nias' (1989) 'situational self' and the concepts of 'dispersed power' (Foucault 1980), where power may fluctuate between pupils and teachers. Given the aim of the thesis to explore links between values and teacher disengagement from their occupational experience, the work of Huberman (1992), who refers to the numbness felt by teachers, is considered to be particularly important.

The values context of Schooling

This section outlines the nature of the values context of Schooling. Correspondence between the research values and the operational criteria of the QCA contexts of relationships, society and environment reveals a shared concern for a large number of QCA values amongst the teacher informants in phase one of the research. Significantly, it also raises questions about the tensions created by the four contexts, and their role in undermining the search for shared understanding. The further exploration of Communication and Respect, in Appendix 3 (c), reveals that they offer different meanings across the research contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils. These tensions and meanings are explored more fully through dilemma analysis in later chapters.

The work of Giroux (1983) on schooling and the hidden curriculum is used to identify aspects of the research values that are characterised by Schooling. The hidden curriculum in this work is interpreted, after Giroux, as the practice of Schooling. Schooling, as explored in Chapter Two, is 'distinct from education in that it takes place within

institutions that serve the interests of the state' (Giroux p241). This links school to political interests in the rest of society. One major political interest, for example, is that of achievement (Hargreaves 1982). Hargreaves draws attention to passivity, obedience, the erosion of dignity, and instrumentalism, whilst in an earlier work Hargreaves (1967) talks of the 'custodial atmosphere' of schools. 'Schooling fosters and rewards the development of certain capacities and the expression of certain needs while thwarting and penalising others' (Bowles and Gintis 1976 p129), a process described by Woods (1979) as mortification. Mortification will be developed further in later chapters. Schooling is, in part, driven by political interests that are put into practice through the hidden curriculum, 'those unstated norms, values and beliefs' (Giroux 1983 p47) that underlie the social relationships of classroom life. Schooling by these accounts has tendencies towards authoritarianism, instrumentalism, asymmetrical relationships and what Habermas (1981) terms 'strategic action'.

There are early indications here of the tensions and conflicts to be explored. A brief glance at the list of characteristics brings a number of these tensions immediately to mind. Some examples are; teacher as role model and teacher as Self; the classification of pupils and their treatment as individuals; the limits of trust and tolerance; the asymmetrical nature of communication in the classroom and its disruption of learning; the implications of strategic action as opposed to communicative action.

The values context of Subject

This section outlines the nature of the values context of Subject. It draws upon literature in Chapter Two to identify characteristics of the values that can be used to analyse the data relating to Subject, and phase one data which emphasised the informants' love of subject and academic achievement.

There is no correspondence between Subject and the values of the QCA operational criteria, except in the broadest sense. For example, Self refers to making the most of talents, rights, opportunities, and striving for knowledge and wisdom. But these general criteria do not place a specific focus upon school subjects, or examination success in the way that the research values do. The strength of feeling expressed by the informants for the value of the subject, in terms of its intrinsic value, as well as its instrumental value, warrants a separate context focussing on the contribution of subject to values' interpretation and implementation. The intrinsic value of subject is difficult for the informants to explain but motivates teachers. A number of teachers love their subjects, not simply because of any intrinsic value, but because they can see beyond the immediate study to benefits, or pleasures to be gained in the future, to the instrumental value of the subject. Academic Achievement can also be viewed as a means to an end. However, it is shown later that for pupils, 'mediocre' achievement, a failure to achieve a grade 'C' at GCSE, causes certification to lose its instrumental value.

The omission of Subject (and illustrated below, Pupils) as a values context by the QCA is another indication, pursued throughout this thesis, of the mortification of teachers. The

failure to recognise the important role of values within the daily occupational practices of teachers strips out motivation and engagement for themselves, and as will be shown, their pupils.

Bernstein (1975) drew attention to the significance of subject and pedagogy in the transmission, through teacher power in the pedagogical relationship, of the norms and values of the middle classes. A school's dependence on traditional subject boundaries and hierarchical teaching reflects the relative power of teachers over pupils. Similarly, weak subject boundaries and a negotiated teaching framework might reflect perceptions of the relative power of pupils, or the values of another section of the middle classes. The implication here is that a study of the subject must include pedagogy.

Dewey (1966) identified two types of values that had implications for pedagogy. Intrinsic values, which are ends in themselves, maybe examination success because of pleasure, satisfaction or sense of achievement, for example. Secondly, there were instrumental values that are means to an end. This could also be examination success because they are the means by which a pupil can achieve intrinsic value, such as a job that they enjoy, or a course of study that they wish to embark on. As can be seen from these examples, whether an activity, goal, object, or some other form of desired experience is valued because of its intrinsic or instrumental value is dependent upon perspective and situation.

The values context of Pupils.

This section outlines the nature of the research context of Pupils. It is important to remember that Pupils' values are considered in as much as they offer insight into the values and occupational experiences of the teacher informants. It draws upon literature reviewed in Chapter Two to identify characteristics of values that can be used to analyse data relating to Pupils. The importance of the pupils as a part of teacher culture is derived from two sources. The first is the literature in Chapter Two. The second is the data from phase one. The informants have a number of concerns: that pupils do not value the teaching paradigm and the cognitive/intellectual domain. Teachers feel threatened when pupils reject these. However, it is also important not to lose sight of the fact that teachers are also motivated in their work by their pupils.

Woods (1979) asserted how pupils have different interpretations of achievement from those of the school. He also identifies similarities in the behaviour of pupils and teachers, in particular the use of humour to maintain dignity. Ball (1981) concludes that pupils were no longer dependent upon the reversal of the norms and values of the school as a source of alternative status and opposition. He too spoke of pupils' own interpretation of 'success', whilst recognising the significance of rules and rituals to create shared values. Ball also identifies two sub groups of pupils, the pro and anti school.

Hargreaves (1967. 1982) referred to values with the teacher and the middle class (academic achievement), and those of the pupils and the working class (having fun). In addition he points out the school's dependency on cognitive/intellectual primacy, the cult

of the individual, and 'values stretch' which is seen to diminish the meaning of a value by inappropriate use (for example, in the over use of praise), may be rejected by pupils. In terms of English and Science, the spread of subjects in phase one makes further detailed analysis inappropriate. It is sufficient here to identify work used later in stage two of the analysis: (Millar, Parkhouse et al 1999, Austen-Ward 1986, James 1998). Cullingford (1991), when studying primary age children identifies dilemmas arising out of the tension between expressed and actual values, and between pupils and teachers. He argued that engagement of pupil curiosity in school is the key to pupil success, and that instrumental learning dominates their own experience. Pupils test out their ideas and values with each other, rather than through the formal curriculum or their teachers. Willis (1977) identified apparent conflict between the values of the school (effeminate and middle class), and the values of the pupils (macho and anti-intellectual). He identified a pupil sub culture based upon 'having a laugh'. Pupils reject the teaching paradigm of control for knowledge (deference) and penetrate the ideology of the school. This penetration is only partial because of their prejudices, which can result in self-oppression. McRobbie (1978) and McFadden (1995) criticised this work for its narrow, male orientated view of resistance. Giddens (Layder 1994) and Pervin and Turner (1998) argue that pupils are far from powerless. Woods (1979, 1980, 1990) identified the strategies pupils use to control and subvert the power of the teacher, and the way that teachers oscillate between two models: the person and the bureaucrat.

The importance of the pupils' own interview data in phase two reduced the researcher's focus on this context. This is not because the context is not important, but rather that the

research design in phase two allowed the pupils to speak for themselves. As with Subject, this is not a context the QCA considers worthy of a separate category. This denies that pupils have values that are important to them and are worthy of consideration by subject study.

The characteristics of the four contexts

Characteristics are criteria used to identify a values context. The characteristics identified in Appendix four are derived through analysis of data gathered in phase one. Appendix 3 (b) gives an account of this analysis. These characteristics become attendant values: attendant to the research values of respect, teacher, exploration and curiosity when they are used to define these research values. Different informants ascribe different characteristics to these values because of the relative influence of the four contexts. Some teachers, for example, apply characteristics derived from Schooling whilst others apply characteristics from the Self. Some apply characteristics derived from two contexts. In this latter case the possibility of the informant revealing internal contradictions or tensions is increased.

The characteristics in Appendix four are used in stage two of the analysis to interrogate the dilemmas derived from phase two (the key informants from English and Science in *Engirl*, *Scigirl*, *Boyscomp*, *Churchcomp* and *Co-edcomp*). These characteristics develop in meaning during stage two analysis. For example 'importance of pedagogy' develops in stage two into 'importance of pedagogy/communication' whilst others, such as 'conditional trust' remain undeveloped. This is because other characteristics reveal

significant findings (such as mortification, or the over reliance on, or distortion of, instrumental value). This is a form of progressive focussing (Somekh 1995), and through a similar process other characteristics, such as 'concern with morality', are merged, in this case into 'doing the right thing'.

In stage one of the analysis these characteristics are piloted to reveal the different perspectives of the two values of communication and respect (Appendix three (c)). Different perspectives on the values of communication and respect, rather than revealing a shared understanding, illustrate a variety of interpretations, based upon the different values' contexts. These interpretations create dilemmas identified by their 'complexity, tension and contradiction' (Winter 1982).

There are also tensions between teachers. For example, Mary associates being a teacher with 'doing the right thing', 'contemplation and enjoyment' and 'a negative self image', attendant values that are characteristics of Self. On the other hand, Millicent sees the 'teacher as a role model' defined by the norms of teacher and pupil behaviour. Millicent's attendant values are characteristics derived from Schooling. The four contexts help to explain how teachers have different interpretations of values, which they have to accommodate (Woods 1979) in the revised teacher problematic (Sachs and Smith 1988). Sharp and Green (1975) would describe this as something being commonly recognised but differently understood. In addition, the different meanings highlight tensions between the perspective that considers teachers to be a role model and those who view 'the teacher' negatively. This tension is fully explored in later chapters.

Interrogating the data, in a way that explains how the informants respond to dilemmas, offers further insight into the nature of teachers' values, and the effect this has upon teacher engagement. It is to the analysis of such dilemmas, using the characteristics of the four values contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils that are considered in the next three chapters. It is worth repeating here that these characteristics make no claims to certainty, or definitive description of the contexts, but are useful as tools, offering insight into the research problems of the perceived fracturing of values and teacher disengagement.

Chapter Five

Stage two of analysis:

Two values from the wider circumstances of the school

Four research values became the focus of the thesis as data collection and analysis progressed (Cicourel 1973; Somekh 1995). These research values are:

- Respect.
- Exploration in English.
- Teacher.
- Curiosity in Science.

Out of the interrogation of these values four significant issues emerge that are developed throughout the thesis: The denial of intrinsic value; the creation of a distorted form of instrumental value, particularly in Science; the mortification of teachers; and the correspondence of experience between teachers and pupils.

The values are interrogated through the tensions evident between the characteristics of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils (Appendix four). Data, from the fifteen informants in Phase two, is selected to illustrate these tensions. Appendix seven explains the conventions used in presenting this data.

Before examining the issues surrounding values specific to Science and English classrooms the thesis explores two values which emerge from the wider circumstances of the school. The first of these values, respect, emerges as the most complex and diverse value in its manifestation and implications. Respect is in part about how people value each other. How teachers value pupils, and pupil perceptions of this valuation form, a major focus of this section. The teacher is the second of these values. How the informants value

their role as teachers is significant because of the self-doubt attached to it, and the lack of a clear vision as to its worth. In brief, the study of both values suggests a troubled group of informants, concerned about their mortification (the stripping away of essential parts of the self, such as friendship, truth, pleasure, satisfaction, loss of dignity and alienation).

Exploration emerges as a significant intrinsic value within the study of English, whilst curiosity emerges as a significant intrinsic value within Science. These are explored in Chapter Six. Both are powerful through their potential for teacher and pupil engagement, although the constraints of Schooling in Science leads, in practice, to a more instrumental interpretation of the value.

Respect.

The dilemmas of respect provide further evidence of the different meanings of mutually recognised values. The dominant dilemma positions that emerge, of the engagement and authoritarian images, reveal low teacher self esteem and mortification. The origins of this low self esteem and mortification lie in a constant struggle for the accommodation of the contexts of Self and Schooling, a struggle that often reduces the contexts of Subject and Pupils to issues of control, rather than as a source of pleasure and satisfaction.

The work begins by looking at what the teacher prizes, or esteems (Dewey 1966) in respect and is expressed through two major dilemma positions.

The first dilemma position is closely, but not exclusively related to the Self, in that it is largely derived from the characteristics of that context. Subject also contributes, and raises

questions about the assumptions that teachers make about pupils' appreciation of the value of their work. This position broadly supports Woods' (1979) model of the teacher as a 'person', and an engagement image of the teacher drawing upon Huberman's (1992) career cycle and associated values of enthusiasm, discovery, acceptance, survival, commitment, spontaneity, humour and experimentation. This position aspires towards closer relationships between pupils and teachers. It also has limited resonance with Sachs' (2001) model of the democratic teacher.

The second dilemma position is closely related to the context of Schooling. Only one teacher, Sandy, using the context of Self, wanted respect based upon an 'authoritarian' view of the teacher. This authoritarian view owes something to the teachers' sense of responsibility towards developing appropriate attitudes for use in broader society, as well as a fear of the breakdown of pupil discipline. The authoritarian image of respect resonates with Gramsci's (1971) norms and imperatives, Giroux's (1983) reference to 'underlying rules that structure the routines in school and classroom life' and the assumed status and legitimacy of knowledge (Apple 1995; Woods 1979)

Dilemma position one: relations derived from the engagement image of the teacher

Self

An engagement image of the teacher.

In practice, the distinction between the engagement image of the teacher and the teacher as person was not a useful one. Engagement called upon teachers not to mortify those aspects of the person that a more authoritarian image would deny. Thus, a teacher who aspired to

the engagement image would want to present more of the person than is evident with an authoritarian image.

Jenny at *Engirl* places respect in the context of opinions expressed within the classroom.

Respect is mutual in the sense that all parties should value other people's opinions.

What do you think that the word respect means? I think that it is to do with trust and this idea again of valuing other people's opinions, and valuing their differences. I think that it is a mutual process. I don't think that it is praise, it is based on trust. (Pre 67-68)

The use of the word 'people' rather than 'pupil' suggests a more equal relationship, as 'pupils' imply notions of 'the attempted capture of the minds of the young by adults' (Schostak 1984. P7). Recognition of the value of differences suggests that pupils do not have to think like the teacher, and raises questions about whether shared values should be one of Jenny's aims. Working within the same English department June further develops the idea of trust.

You said teachers should be respected by pupils: What does the word respect actually mean? I think trusted, but I don't mean trusted in an informal way or a trite way, but trusted in terms of their professional judgement, their knowledge of where the student's at. For example, if I give grades out to students I would hope that they would be able to question those but at the same time respect my professional judgement, and trust that I can advise them on how to improve and so on. Also in terms of the types of conversations that you might have in English could be quite sensitive at times, and I think that respect would have to be there before you could bring about those types of discussions really; the mutual respect.

Also, I think that if the teacher is respected by the pupils, then how the teacher treats other students in the classroom sets the foundation for how they should treat others in the classroom, because they would watch your relationships with other students, particularly with girls who are more difficult. They would see that as a role model I suppose. (Pre 48 - 53)

Trust, is not 'informal' or 'trite' but has a specific 'professional' meaning, based upon a teacher's assessment of pupil progress. Trust should be in the teachers' professional judgement, and in the classroom relationships. These relationships, especially in English, can be 'sensitive', and respect is required to create the conditions to bring the conditions about that will foster such intimacy. Like Jenny, June thinks that respect needs to be

mutual. Pupils develop this trust as a result of observing the teacher's treatment of pupils. Respect, built upon the teacher's behaviour is a pre-condition of the types of conversation that take place between teacher and pupil in an English classroom. Teachers have to be sensitive, and nurturing in their relationships.

Roger at *Co-edcomp* believes that respect has to be earned anew every day. Like Jenny at *Engirl*, he thinks that respect is based upon an understanding of pupils as people. He goes on to explain the importance of his behaviour, specifically in terms of his behaviour as a teacher, again, like *Engirl*'s June, raising the issue of the teacher as a role model.

I think it means having understanding for people basically and I think that the pupils have to respect you for everything about you really as a teacher. If you expect them to be in the classroom on time, I think you've got to be in the classroom on time as well. If you expect them to do their homework, then I think they're right to expect you to mark it for them. I think that you've got to set a standard for kids that you can meet yourself. *Do you think that respect is something that should be given to pupils because you are a teacher?* No, not at all, no, no. I think that too many teachers expect automatically to be given respect just because, you know, they've got a DfEE number and I think that you've actually got to go out and earn their respect every day.
(Pre 76 – 78)

By marking on time, turning up to classes on time, and setting standards that he also has to meet, he thinks that this will earn him respect from the pupils, a respect that is reciprocated in the behaviour of his pupils. Gerry, at *Co-edcomp*, also rejects the authoritarian notion of respect, and reinforces the idea of pupils as people.

What do you understand by the term respect? Really, as a person. I don't mean look up to, or accept as an authority figure. I mean have a care for, another individual, that's what I mean by respect. (Pre 117 – 118)

This has more in common with Woods' (1979) 'Person' model of the teacher, whereby the teacher rejects the bureaucratic pressures associated with school, to respond to pupils in an individual and caring way.

Mary (*Boyscomp*) reiterates a number of issues that have been raised earlier. Mary, like June at *Engirl* thinks that respect, in practice, is evident when pupils and teachers are able to raise sensitive issues.

It means feeling comfortable with someone; comfortable enough to be able to challenge that person; not to be afraid that you are going to be rebuffed; being a good listener; allowing that person his or her space; in the classroom; about being organised. So, when I go in I'm organised, and hopefully, they are organised as well, Then we can get on with the lesson; having a sense of humour. (Pre 97 – 100)

Like Roger (*Co-edcomp*), and June (*Engirl*) respect is about the teacher meeting the same standards that pupils are set. The third issue is thinking of the pupils as 'people' and escaping the 'attempted capture of the minds of the young'.

Betty (*Co-edcomp*) believes that respect is based upon what the teacher has to offer.

What does respect from pupils actually mean? ..them accepting that you have something worthwhile; them listening.... that you have something to teach them. And, how would you respect pupils? By equally accepting that they have a point of view and listening to them, when they want to question something, or say something to me about what we are doing. (Pre 98 – 100)

Acceptance by pupils also has a counterweight in that teachers should accept that pupils have a point of view, a right to ask questions and comment on what the class are doing. The idea that pupils can question what happens in the classroom is a challenge to the authoritarian view of respect. The right of teachers to respect is based upon a responsibility to treat pupils with respect.

Susan is relieved to be able to talk to her class more 'as you might do in the street'. Susan left *Churchcomp*, for a sixth-form college at the end of phase two of the data collection.

Basically, I would like to think that I would talk to pupils with respect. In other words, I don't shout at them. I don't tell them to shut up. I don't call them names, and so on. When I hear them doing that to each other, and there are pupils in this school, who, given half a chance would do that to a teacher, and I think as soon as that happens in front of a class of 28 then the whole structure breaks down. Because then, the attention is not on Science but on 'right, what is miss going to do now?' It becomes an audience participation thing. Generally talking to people like you might do in the street. Good morning sort of thing. (Pre 156 – 159) I feel I've got the best of both worlds. I'm really

enjoying teaching now in a sixth-form college. Paperwork is to a purpose. Really nice to be in a classroom. Don't have to talk about chewing gum or tucking shirts in. (Revise meeting notes, 14th July. P5.)

She exudes an air of relief at the dissemination day, relief from the formal strictures of schooling in an 11- 18 school. She no longer has to enforce rules that appear peripheral to pupil engagement with her subject. Even though Susan talks of behaving towards her pupils, as she would people that she meets in the street, this does not imply off hand, or thoughtless behaviour. She specifies, in a similar way to Roger, how she feels that she should treat pupils, as she expects that pupils will copy her behaviour.

Keith's (*Churchcomp*) definition of respect is more complex than most and some of the issues raised by Keith are considered in the context of Schooling. The following quote is, therefore, also to be found in that context. Those aspects of the data considered in the context of Schooling are underlined. Keith is concerned, amongst other things, with the quality of relationships

What do you mean by relationships? It should be friendly We've got away, hopefully, from: 'Sit down boy. You do that,' to a relationship where there is an atmosphere in which learning can happen. They should trust you, you should be able to trust them. (Pre 79 – 80) *Does respect have implications for what a teacher does?* What do we say in school? You've got to treat others like you would like them to treat you? That is the bottom line, that is what I drill into my form. (Pre 82) *What values underpin your lessons?....*I'm not quite sure. Maybe friendship between children and adults is frowned upon. Interaction, treating pupils as humans, as opposed to a means to a pay chit. (Pre 145 -6)

Keith would like closer relationships with pupils than he is able to have. He twice mentions friendship, but he is wary of this. We shall see that Barry (*Churchcomp*), who rejects the value of respect, also wishes closer relationships with pupils, and Barry talks of the risk of being charged with paedophilia. Keith does not expand upon why friendship with pupils is frowned upon, and there is a feeling of regret at not being able to be friends with pupils. Keith says trust is a characteristic of respect and that this should be mutual,

reflecting the feelings of many teachers. This mutuality is reflected in Keith's behaviour, making reference to treating pupils, as he would like to be treated, carrying echoes of the role model. Keith is also in accord with Mary, Jenny, Gerry and Susan when he expresses a desire to treat pupils as 'humans', rather than as 'a means to a pay chit'.

Gordon (*Boyscomp*) and Farouk (*Scigirl*) would also like pupils to appreciate them as people. Gordon thinks that pupils should understand by his actions that he is working for their benefit and they should appreciate the teachers' personal efforts, the assumption being that teachers' actions are in the best interests of the pupils.

What do you think that respect means? It is a good question really. I think that respect from the pupils is: that they realise that what you do is important, and that you are trying to help them, and they will respect you. Well, you are hoping they will respect you because you are trying to do something for them by your actions. I don't think you can expect it immediately. (Pre 96)

Respect is dependent upon how the pupil sees the teacher. As a teacher Gordon at *Boyscomp* feels he should be respected, because of what he is doing for them. The key words are that they 'realise' that the teacher is trying to help them and he 'hopes' that they will respect the teacher. Farouk at *Scigirl*, like Gordon at *Boyscomp*, feels that he works on behalf of the pupils, and by 'showing them that he cares about them', the pupils will show respect.

If the pupils respected, how would they behave towards you? First of all they listen, and then respond in a positive way....*How should respect show itself in the classroom?* I think that if I show them that I care about them, and I work hard for them, for their own best, I think, yes. (Pre 160 –163)

Like Dennis at *Churchcomp*, Farouk thinks that respect is demonstrated by the pupils' actions, by them co-operating with the teacher, by 'being positive'. Showing respect means listening to what the teacher has to say. This again links back to an assumption that pupils value the knowledge presented as intrinsically or instrumentally valuable. It is

shown in Chapter Seven that pupils do question the instrumental and intrinsic value of the subject knowledge that they are taught.

Doing the right thing

Barry at *Churchcomp* has a strong sense of purpose, and of what a subject teacher is there to do. He is interesting because of his rejection of the value of respect. He equates it with fear. The idea that respect is fear is discussed in the Schooling context that supports the second, authoritarian dilemma position.

We've got a job to do, we get on with it. And, I don't think that I get much in the way of respect. *What does respect mean? It means fear. You put: Teaching should be about an extension of parent hood beyond the back garden? Yeah.... Well, at its best, it is an adult who is going beyond where most parents can go, but with exactly the same attitudes and approaches....without in danger of being called a paedophile, but I risk that danger every day. (Pre 83 -94)*

Barry does not think that respect is a legitimate concern of the teacher. It will be seen that, in his exploration of the teacher (a value that he also has difficulty with), he rejects the idea of the teacher as a role model. Barry is concerned with 'getting on with it' and closer personal relationships. He thinks that this closeness risks accusations of paedophilia by those who either don't understand, or don't approve of Barry's unorthodox methods. He is not concerned with how he is seen by other teachers, and he is not concerned with how pupils regard him. The crucial point for Barry is the work. Barry's ability to sustain this rejection/denial of the judgement of pupils and other colleagues in an era of appraisal, and Ofsted is called into question when Barry leaves to take early retirement in the year following the dissemination day.

Subject

Intrinsic\instrumental value of the subject

Betty at *Co-edcomp* and Millicent at *Churchcomp* feel that their subject knowledge is a key aspect of the respect pupils should have for teachers.

What does respect mean, to be respected? Different things. It would involve pupils in co-operating with you. Like, if you respect someone, in my knowledge, you co-operate with them, listen to them, even if you don't agree with them, take on board what they are saying and have two way communication with them. (Millicent Pre 75 – 76)

What does respect from pupils actually mean?them accepting that you have something worthwhile them listening to. That you have something to teach them. *And how would you respect pupils?* By equally accepting that they have a point of view, and listening to them when they want to question something or say something to me about what we are doing. (Betty Pre 98)

This form of respect is premised on the belief that the knowledge that teachers have is worthwhile. Crucially, both acknowledge that pupils have something worthwhile to say about that knowledge, and that they should be able to engage that knowledge through questioning. The issue of genuine, communicative action as opposed to strategic action (Habermas 1981) is an issue that recurs throughout this thesis.

Implications of the engagement position

The engagement dilemma position rejects the mortification of vital parts of social relationships, such as mutual trust, and tolerance of different opinions. The informants expressed a desire for closer, more intimate relationships with pupils that are closer to friendship than current norms allow, suggestive of communicative, rather than strategic dialogue. They wanted to be able to see pupils as people too, and not minds to be captured. They wanted their relationships with pupils to build upon the teachers' ability to contribute to pupil development through the value of their subject, their judgement on pupil progress, and as examples of how people should behave to each other. They wanted pupils to respect them through these more intimate and personal relationships. The next section explores the authoritarian dilemma position, a position that undermines the desire

for engagement. It shows how Schooling through mortification can bring respect into disrepute, particularly if it becomes another word for fear.

Dilemma position two: relations based on authoritarian attitudes to the structures and routines of school and classroom life.

Self

An 'authoritarian' image of the teacher

Sandy at *Boyscomp* is alone in her support for the authoritarian image derived from the Self. Other informants support the authoritarian position from the context of Schooling or through the application of respect in practice.

The teacher is the person present of the group who has the most seniority and hopefully who's most educated in the subject....and who has experience of dealing with learning groups and because they have that experience then there should be certain deference from the students....there should be a willingness to listen. (Pre 54)

Elements of this quote will be referred to later in the context of Subject, where her appeal to the authority of her subject is explored. Sandy is again the only informant who appeals to a characteristic from Subject to support an authoritarian view of respect. Sandy wanted to leave teaching and in the sections on the teacher, and exploration the nature of her relationship to this 'lower ability' class which caused her great frustration, will be further observed. Sandy wanted her pupils to show her respect through a willingness to listen, but also, by showing deference towards the teacher. Respect in her view has been earned by the teacher because they are the 'most educated in the subject', and have experience of teaching groups. In addition, teachers have 'seniority'. Sandy appealed to these characteristics of respect because she felt powerless (post 10 – 17). This articulation of respect in practice assumes that the teacher should command respect because of their

position. There is no suggestion that respect is developed as a result of interaction, but is rather a pre-requisite of the teacher – pupil relationship.

Schooling

Authoritarian

Derek (*Boyscomp*) thinks that it is a responsibility of the teacher to teach children how to deal with authority:

It's 'I will respect you and you respect me.' But, I think that in itself is not good enough because we are often faced with children, who, for whatever reason, maybe haven't quite got their lifestyle....life together and they, find it very difficult to maybe deal with adults or authority or other children and sometimes we have to take a lot of this on the chin and they throw their worse excesses at us. We need to be, sort of bigger than that. And rather than reacting in kind, you know if somebody says, 'up yours', and somebody sort of says 'up yours' back to them, you deal with it in a different way. (Pre 118)

Derek thinks that if teachers were to respond with mutual respect that this would lead to teachers behaving inappropriately. He has a particular view of mutual respect. It is not a state to be aimed for, to work towards as an ideal, but is rather a form of reciprocation. Pupils may not respond with respect for teachers and this needs to be countered by teachers 'rising above' such behaviour. Pupils should show respect for other children, adults and authority, and if pupils are disrespectful teachers should not respond in a like manner. Derek feels that pupils should get their 'lifestyles together' in such a way that pupils respect authority. There is an implicit understanding that teachers should have respect from pupils, and that it is the teacher's responsibility to develop pupils' lifestyle so that they can deal with authority in an appropriate way. This is achieved partly by the teacher's own behaviour being a model for pupils, and by making moral judgements about pupil 'lifestyles'.

Passivity/obedience

Unlike Derek (*Boyscomp*), Dennis at *Co-edcomp* does not talk about the development of respect as a responsibility of teachers. Dennis makes the assumption that pupils will demonstrate respect for authority through a degree of passivity and obedience.

The way they talk to each other, the way they act towards me; listening when I'm talking and, and just generally behaving when they should behave. (Pre 76)

Dennis feels that respect can be defined in terms of pupil behaviour. In the context of behaviour towards other pupils and himself, appropriate behaviour is for the pupils to listen, and to behave as they 'should' in a school. There are assumptions here about appropriate behaviour in schools and this is linked to respect. So, respect is appropriate school behaviour – listening to the teacher when he is talking, for example.

Dennis teaches a 'top' set chemistry. He focuses on academic success for these pupils, and he proceeds at a very quick pace in the classroom. His observed lesson was teacher centred and designed for the transmission of knowledge. He was located at the front of the class where his approach was didactic: explaining, giving out instructions. Pupils have to be motivated to keep up with this fast pace. Dennis was seen by the pupils to be a young teacher, and the pupils in the interview expressed their appreciation of Dennis' friendly approach in tutorial time, but in the classroom he was very focused on the subject, and instrumental in his approach. Dennis is aware of time constraints and the demands of the syllabus and there is evidence in the section on curiosity that there is little time for pupils to pursue their interests, or variations on the outcomes of the experiments that they take part in.

Asymmetrical relationships

Keith (*Churchcomp*) combines Derek's (*Boyscomp*) reference to the responsibility of the teacher, and Dennis' idea of how pupils 'should' behave. Keith says that pupils should treat each other and the teacher as they would like to be treated.

What do we say in the school? You've got to treat others like you would like them to treat you?
That is the bottom line, that is what I drill into my form. (Pre 82)

We have seen previously that Keith advocates closer relationships with pupils, something close to friendship, although he thinks that friendship would not be acceptable. He advocates a certain amount of reciprocity in the relationship between pupil and teacher. He would like pupils to treat him as they would like to be treated. However, tension is revealed by his comment that he will 'drill' this into his form. This carries forward the idea raised by Derek about the teacher having responsibility to develop pupil respect. The use of the word 'drill' suggests compulsion, if not indoctrination. It certainly reflects that the teacher has the power to 'drill' such attitudes into his pupils, as a Sergeant Major might. If he is to 'drill' attitudes into a form, it raises questions about whether he would find the forceful representation of pupil views acceptable. Would he like pupils to treat him in this manner? Keith is really saying that he would like pupils to treat him, and each other as he thinks is appropriate for a relationship between pupils and teachers, an asymmetrical relationship of unequal power.

Limited Tolerance

Evidence of unequal relationships based upon unequal power is raised again by Gerry at *Co-edcomp*. Gerry describes how the English curriculum, and the way he teaches it, values the individual.

What values do you think that the subject of English in the National Curriculum offers? The way we teach it, certainly respect for individuals, the worth of the individuals, tolerance of individuals, equality of opportunity. Violently, almost violently anti-racist...If you look at the subject matter...the kind of texts that are being pushed in the National Curriculum. Those are the themes that come through. (Pre 70 –72)

He gives an example of how strongly he feels about tolerance of the individual when he says that he is ‘almost violently anti-racist’. There is an undercurrent of force in this limit to tolerance.

Do the pupils ever challenge the values that you mention?...Yes, sure they do. What happens when they challenge those things? If they challenge it in a personal way I will deal with them on a personal level. If it is a generalised challenge I will throw it open to discussion. And what happens if the discussion comes down on the side of the challenge? If it comes down on the side of the challenge that’ll be because part of that’s tolerance. What about if they come down on the side of racism? If they come down on the side of racism then that would be very difficult. I would have to make that quite clear that I don’t stand it, I don’t want to hear it, they can have their own thoughts, their own feelings, but I’m offended by it. (75 – 82)

Gerry does not operate within a moral vacuum. Tolerance is not at any price. He puts limits on this tolerance, as an individual might. He can enforce these limits to tolerance because he has the authority of the school, the curriculum and his pedagogy behind him. One of his pupils is made to sit at the front of the class, apart from his peers, facing the wall. He was behind in his work, and a poor attendee. Gerry, in common with teachers, has the power to control the pupils’ personal space, a power that would not normally be tolerated by people not designated as ‘pupils’.

In schooling there are limits to respect and how teachers see respect being put into practice. The school, because of a perceived need for pupils to be socialised into the expectations of authority, also shapes the teachers’ attitude to respect. This attitude carries with it a responsibility on teachers themselves to demonstrate respect for authority. For Gerry respect is defined by certain other values promoted by the study of English, and if

pupils do not accept these values, such as anti-racism, then Gerry will not 'stand it', and won't 'hear it'.

Fear of breakdown in pupil discipline

This characteristic, like all those in this context are derived from teachers' feelings, attitudes and concerns, as opposed to those in the Pupils' context which are teacher perceptions of pupil behaviour or attitudes. Valuing authority and the individual are not the only reasons why schools are keen to promote respect. Barry at *Churchcomp* has already made it plain that he rejects respect as a value. The reason he gives for this is that he thinks that respect is a weapon to be used in a war with pupils.

What does respect mean? It means fear. (Pre 83 – 94)

Later he expands upon what it means to be a teacher that develops the theme of fear.

I am not credible myself, as a proper teacher. I suppose that gets through....I'm still in the same frame of mind as when I was 23 or 24...*What is a proper teacher?* Well, you know, somebody who has got the rhetoric and solemnity that you expect. *What sort of rhetoric would a proper teacher have?*there were solemn rebukes that did the job, nobody is frightened of me. I feel that you have got to have a few missiles to carry around to be a proper teacher, and I haven't got any. I'm sort of naked in the conference chamber. (*Laughter*) (Post 64 – 70)

He talks of 'missiles', and the 'rhetoric and solemnity that you expect'. He talks as if there is a war going on. It is an 'us, and them' situation that is resolved in a 'conference chamber', just as a war is, where he is 'naked'. The imagery is vivid, and the references to weaponry explain how a 'proper teacher' might respond to fear by promoting respect as a weapon. Barry does not see himself as a proper teacher. He thinks that he has not been socialised into the ways of the teacher. He feels he is still as he was as a young man of 23. In his background information (previously leaving *Churchcomp* because he fell out with the head, then returning after he had left; running a photographic business in the evenings

and at weekends, his use of scatological language) it is clear that his career development was unconventional, and he has no automatic respect for authority.

I was talking to *Mr Griffin*, when we were talking before the sixth formers came for a party, and I said 'Where the bloody hell's my lot?': felt it offended his dignity. *Was that another teacher?* That was the previous head. (post 21 -23)

Barry is rather pleased not to be seen as a teacher after 30 years (a theme that is followed when 'teacher' as a value is examined). He does not want to conform to what he sees are the norms of teaching, which include the weapons of Schooling. He does not want to be respected:

not respect, that is not the word I think, you know, be nice to be loved. (Pre 84)

Subject

Instrumental/intrinsic values

It has been shown how Sandy's support for the authoritative image of respect is derived partly from Self. Her perception of respect is also derived partly from Subject. She looked for pupil respect because of the status conferred by her subject knowledge.

The teacher is the person of the group who has the most seniority and hopefully who's most educated in the subject....there should be certain deference from the students....there should be a willingness to listen. (Sandy pre 54)

The question arises is to whether this knowledge is worthwhile, and worthwhile to whom? Is it useful, pleasurable? Is it a means of achieving other things? These are questions of instrumental and intrinsic value. They are not questions raised by Sandy. There is the assumption that subject knowledge is worthwhile, and that this, in itself, should command respect. These questions are further pursued when the pupil data is examined, and when the values of exploration and curiosity teachers are pursued.

Implications of the authoritarian position

These informants refer to an authoritarian model of respect, based upon deference, unequal power, limited tolerance and a fear of the breakdown of pupil discipline. Respect is a right based upon assumptions, shared by the engagement position, about the value of their subject knowledge and their status as role models; assumptions that are disputed by pupils in the section 'Informants and their pupils'. This authoritarian model aims to promote pupil behaviour identified by passivity and obedience. The power of the teacher is used to enforce a type of respect that relies upon the rhetoric of solemnity and fear. This authoritarian model undermines the expression of sensitivities and the development of close relationships advocated by the engagement image.

This section has identified a major dilemma facing the sample. Respect draws upon two values contexts leading to two interpretations: one based upon an engagement image, and a second, on an authoritarian image. In the next section the tensions derived from these two positions are reflected in the teacher as a value and develops understanding of how instrumental and intrinsic value are distorted and denied, and how being a teacher can lead to the mortification of the substantial self.

The teacher

In exploration of the teacher as a value, as something that is to be prized or esteemed (Dewey 1966), a number of negative perceptions are found to underpin the concepts and attendant values of the authoritarian and engagement images referred to in the previous section. These two images shape the experiences and expectations of the teacher informants. The tensions between these two positions contribute to the denial and distortion of intrinsic and instrumental value. For example, the attendant value of the 'teacher as a role model', and the attendant value assigned to 'professional' are revealed to have widely differing meanings for teachers. Some of these meanings, such as cynical careerism that Mary associates with professionalism, conflict with the values of the individual, such as 'doing the right thing'. As with respect, the dilemma positions are rooted in two different contexts. The first dilemma position is largely rooted in Self, and the second dilemma position in Schooling and draws attention to the ways in which the integrity of the teacher, his/her negative self-image and desire for independent thinking and enjoyment from education undermines some of the values of Schooling. Teachers question and sometimes undermine such values as professionalism, exam success, obedience, passivity, the role model, and subservience.

The second dilemma position asserts that integral to being a teacher is the promotion of characteristics and values of Schooling that undermine the engagement values of the teacher; values such as sympathy, understanding, integrity, autonomy, contemplation, critical thinking and enjoyment. These dilemma positions reveal the nature of mortification (Woods 1979). They also touch upon the nature of resistance (Giroux 1983), the correspondence principle (Bowls and Gintis 1976), communicative and strategic

action (Habermas 1981), technical rationality (Marcuse 1972), the unexamined values of professional habitus (Tripp 1993) and the hidden curriculum (Giroux 1983).

This section begins with Roger's assumption that teachers share an agreed set of standards; an assumption that is not borne out by the rest of the data.

Self

An 'engagement image of the teacher'.

Roger does not think that engagement with pupils is incompatible with professionalism and the characteristics of schooling. Roger thinks that there is a consensus amongst teachers about standards and the values that underpin teaching as a profession, and that these standards are based upon sympathy, understanding and commitment.

What do you think that phrase means, Teaching as a Profession'? I think having an agreed set of standards amongst the people who do it. Yeah I think we do. I think, I think that if you, if you've got all the staff into a room and said right, what are our professional standards, you would reach fairly quickly a consensus of opinion on that. Can you just give me a few examples of what these standards are? Treating, treating the young people that we teach with sympathy and understanding ... commitment to each other, commitment to the kids. (Pre 65 – 74)

He illustrates this consensus with references to sympathy, understanding, commitment to each other, and the kids. This thesis argues that there is no consensus view amongst teachers on what it means to be a professional. Not all teachers are committed to each other, and commitment, sympathy and understanding are qualified by the drive for examination success which underpins the new professionalism (Barton 1991; Hargreaves 1994; Hoyle 2001; Sachs 2001; Whitty 2000).

Dilemma position one: concerned with teacher integrity, a negative self image and desire for independent thinking and enjoyment that undermines some of the attendant values of Schooling.

Self

Doing the right thing

June, at *Engirl* is more at ease with the concept of the teacher as a professional than Mary or Gordon, but she thinks that it can have negative implications. She is fearful that being a professional may be understood to mean inflexibility. She thinks professionalism should include a degree of autonomy.

What are your feelings about the word professional? My understanding of professional in terms of an individual person would be the way that they conduct themselves in an appropriate manner. What I would see as an appropriate manner in teaching wouldn't necessarily imply conventional but in terms of respect, behaving in a way that would be conducive to respectful relationships with the kids. And also taking control, being in control of the environment and the classroom. But not being rigid at the same time. I think that sometimes, professional behaviour could be seen as quite rigid, but I would see it should be flexible behaviour but, still being in control but maintaining flexibility as well. (Pre 33 -40)

Professionalism does not represent a model of behaviour that is pre-determined. For June it must involve the autonomy to make decisions that will uphold respectful relationships. June sees that it also involves taking control of the environment and the classroom. Her definition is based upon maintaining the integrity of the teacher, so that she can do what is right in terms of her own assessment of 'appropriate' behaviour. This behaviour need not be 'conventional', so it need not be constrained by the norms of society.

Mary, at *Boyscomp* has a very negative perception of being professional.

I hate the word...It is because of its connotations, and associations. Professional is, within the context of this school here, someone who comes and is only going to stay for 2 years, and when he or she gets their job is already planning stuff that will go on his CV for the next job. I think that is a

philosophy in many schools now. I don't like professional in that way. I am professional in that I care. (Pre 75 – 78)

She sees the term 'professional' in terms of cynical career advancement that has become the 'philosophy' in many schools. Like June, Mary has her own definition of professional. Mary hates the word 'professional' because of a particular construction of its meaning; a construction based upon the 'new professionalism' touched upon in the literature review. Mary would rather see professional as meaning a dedication to caring about her work, rather than her career, as a vocation, rather than an occupation.

Gordon, teaching Science at *Boyscomp*, sees an element of 'self serving' in being a professional.

I think of the traditional profession there is an element of self-serving in it: That they are trying to maintain their own sort of elite status. You have to go through a long and rigorous training in education - not always particularly intellectually demanding, but a lot of time put into it and things, and so then they can call themselves something and charge a lot of money for doing it...I think professional in the sense that you value the job; you see the job as an important thing; you are performing an important function for society;...there is integrity there. *Do you think that teaching in that sense is a profession?* It should be yeah. (Pre 71 – 80)

Professionalism for Gordon is in the tradition of restrictive practice, limiting entry and forcing up the financial reward. Interestingly, Gordon thinks that training takes a long time, but is not 'particularly intellectually demanding'. Whether this is a condemnation of teacher training, or whether it is a condemnation of the abilities of teachers, or both, is not entirely clear. However, the comment is demeaning of professional, and should be born in mind when we consider that Gordon also has a negative image of teachers. In addition, Gordon says that teaching '*should* be a profession', meaning teachers *should* value the job, and they *should* have integrity. This suggests that, in Gordon's view, teaching may not have the professional identity that he desires.

Barry, in *Churchcomp*, like June, is dismissive of the idea of performing to a model constrained by norms of behaviour.

Role models is nonsense as far as I'm concerned. Do the job. If I'm an organ player I don't come out and say 'well, did you like that change from F sharp to G flat minor? 'and 'shall we do something different next week?' You just play the organ. (Post 74)

It is shown previously that Barry feels a disregard not just for the role model, but also for respect. Barry does not wish to be constrained by norms of behaviour. Barry is task orientated, and would argue that he is not concerned with labels that imply status at the expense of autonomy, nor with the transmission of the values of the middle class. One example of this is that he went out of his way to use language that would not appear 'too pucker' (Post 21 – 27).

These four teachers dispute the very nature of a role model, or a professional. The interpretation of professional is wide ranging, between caring, autonomy and careerism, and a self-serving monopoly. The scope of this discussion reflects the dispute over the nature of the professional, and the failure to agree on a model. For these informants to be a professional or a role model is to reject career and norm orientated perceptions.

Contemplation and enjoyment

The education system itself makes it difficult for teachers to behave in a way that Mary and Sandy at *Boyscomp* would wish. Mary's desire for education to be about contemplation and Sandy's desire for enjoyment undermines the input-output model of education (Elliott 1993). Mary and Sandy at *Boyscomp* question the validity of a model based upon pupils being taught to 'jump through hoops' (Mary pre 4 – 15). Mary raises this issue in some detail, explaining how she took a break from teaching for 16 years, how

she developed in that time to be a thinker, and her fears for the education system since she returned.

...I would read, and was able to formulate my own values, my ideas and develop what remained of my intellect during those years. I'm not sure what happened to that since I have come back to teaching You may be looking at someone who is cynical about education; about the idea of learning, and particularly thinking I don't think that our education system actually does teach us to think as an individual. I think we are taught to jump through hoops for examination...don't get me wrong examination results are very important to me and I am very proud of my own personal exam results but that does not actually mean that I am actually helping children in my class to think. I am may be helping them to learn and pass examinations I have been concerned over the last few years because of the changes since I have returned to teaching.....I was able to develop my own particular interests, and provide food for thought for me as an individual where my own values were coloured or formed. It is about the whole person, about the person as a thinker. It's about someone who will look and challenge who can take in opinions but be able to go away, consider, disagree, or reformulate. I don't think that our education system does that... (Pre 4 – 15)

Mary is cynical about education. She argues that it prevents pupil thinking, and prevents contemplation, as it does not provide 'food for thought'. During her 16 years as a primary carer she read broadly and developed in a way that allowed her to formulate her own values. She is not dismissive of exam results, she is proud of her contribution to them, but she makes the distinction between helping pupils to learn and pass exams, and helping them to think. She is not sure that the education system helps her pupils to do the latter. Teaching pupils to jump through the hoops of examinations does not preclude sympathy and understanding, but in practice the focus of teaching is away from what she considers to be important. It is away from her desire that pupils can 'challenge', 'disagree', 'consider', and 'reformulate' opinions. For those pupils who fail to jump appropriately sympathy and understanding are tokens on the altar of the examination imperative.

Sandy expresses the same views, but more directly and more succinctly.

Well never mind that the kids all seem really happy and they're learning, they're producing this wonderful work, you're still not doing the National Curriculum, you know, its an Ofsted thing really isn't it? It's rules for the sake of it. (Pre 48)

As teachers, both Mary and Sandy participate in a system that is run in a way that denies 'food for thought' and has 'rules for the sake of it'. Being a teacher in these circumstances undermines their attempts to promote aims that they think are central to teaching, enjoyment and thinking. If education is about jumping through hoops there is a question mark over how sympathy and understanding for pupils can be translated into practical support in the rush to examination success.

Negative self-image

In this section the teachers relate to the lack of respect and commitment that teachers can have for each other. Mary highlights one of the major problems of teaching, the denial of the person (Woods 1979).

I don't want my children in the classroom to see me just as Miss XXXX 'Head of English,' or Miss XXXX 'my English teacher.' Because I am not just that. I am a person....I am also a human being who has feelings, who can get angry, who can be hurt, who has opinions, and that is what I want them to see me as, as another person. I don't want to be seen as a teacher. (Pre 82 – 84)

Mary is desperate not to be seen simply as the role she fulfils. She thinks that this mortifies important aspects of the person. It will be shown later that being a role model 'comes with the territory' for some teachers. This is seen by some as patterns of behaviour demonstrated by teachers that are to be copied by pupils. Mary goes on to describe how she sees teachers, as 'narrow minded, and 'afraid of lowering our defences'.

....maybe in my own arrogance I do not have much respect for teachers. Because most of them don't share my philosophy I suppose. *How do you know that?* What I see, what I hear around the school. A lot of defensiveness.....As a profession, oh God, whatever that word means, I think that we are narrow minded, we are afraid of lowering our defences. I still believe the vast majority of teachers like that sense of power; like that 3 way dialogue that occurs only in teacher talk in a normal dialogue, with two human beings its the turn taking occurs in pairs; it doesn't with teachers, it happens in threes. Let me give you practical example: in a classroom a teacher will say: what's the capital of France? Child says. 'Paris; Teacher says, right. End of discourse. The normal discourse does not occur with teachers. Doesn't occur in the classrooms; doesn't occur in meetings; curriculum management; heads of dept, that is going to be horrendous, because it is going to be like going into the classroom again. We don't talk; we don't open up. Most of us don't learn. (Pre 73 – 79)

Mary says later that she will support staff in her department, but her dislike of the idea of being a teacher, and a member of a profession is some distance from Roger's professional consensus and commitment to each other. Teachers' liking for 'that sense of power' also raises question marks over the teachers' commitment to pupils. In addition there is an interesting issue revealed by Mary's reference to the three way dialogue, and how teachers do not communicate with pupils as 'two human beings' would. Teacher dialogue is about making a point, not about listening and learning. Language in the classrooms and the staff rooms, in meetings and in lessons is strategic, not communicative (Habermas 1981).

Betty, a Science teacher at *Co-edcomp* describes a self-image of teachers that is characterised by demoralisation, perceptions of failure, and governmental perceptions of a lack of teacher commitment.

You've got to want to teach because you certainly wouldn't stay in it for the rewards, either financially or in any other way. I think that it can be rewarding, but equally, at times it can be quite the opposite. It can be very demoralising. So, I think that you have got to want to do it. You are not going to stay in it for the money. *What can be demoralising about it?* It can be demoralising when you know how hard you work, and how much effort you put in and for instance, the government carry on knocking teachers and saying that we are not doing a good job and we are not working hard enough, and continuing to make more and more demands and saying that you are failing and this kind of thing. I think that is demoralising. (Pre 82 – 84)

Betty questions whether teaching offers sufficient rewards financially, 'or in any other way'. She refers primarily to forces outside school. She argues that she works very hard, and yet this is not appreciated: little wonder then, that Betty later moves into part time teaching to spend more time with her son.

Does it promote the instrumental value of education for pupils to see 'academic achievers' frustrated in this way? Working in this culture of demoralisation it is difficult to see how

teachers can maintain a pattern of behaviour that is to be copied by pupils. If pupils share this perception, and there is evidence from pupils that some do, would pupils wish to choose teachers as a model?

Dennis, also at *Co-edcomp*, does not see the term profession as a set of standards, but as a 'way of life'.

Do you think that teaching is a profession? Erm, a way of life.... sometimes you are just having your breakfast and you think, 'oh, I could try that today'. That is one of the things that gets on my nerves, it never leaves you. (Pre 51 – 55) *Do you ever get bored?* Oh, yes, definitely. Some of the content of what we have got to teach is not particularly exciting... Marking, tedious marking, I hate it. Most of it has very little benefit, I do tend to go through with most kids the work that we have done and cover it and go over it that way. But some teachers just mark it and give it back and say 10, 9, 8. It doesn't address problems its just creating work. If I don't mark the book then I am considered a bad teacher because I don't mark the book...Report writing....as an exercise in time and motion it is not very good is it? (Post 135– 159)

Being a teacher as a way of life is one of the things about teaching that he does not like, in fact 'it gets on my nerves'. He, like Mary at *Boyscomp*, does not identify with other teachers. He does not go into the staff room because it is too negative and is a forum for moaning. Dennis is desperate to leave teaching, which he does eventually, and this is one of the reasons that he gives. Another reason is the tendency for teachers to busy themselves with tasks that he feels are pointless: marking books in detail, and school reports. He claims that the feedback that he gives pupils is more effective, but he gets moaned at if he doesn't mark books. If teachers' work is boring, tedious, 'an exercise in time and motion', it, along with Mary's comments, suggests that pupils do not see teachers as positive role models. Additionally, Dennis refers to the isolation and loneliness that he feels.

I feel very isolated as a teacher. Stuck in a Science room on my own. Very lonely job. You don't meet any adults all day. Break time and lunch time are very brief. (Notes from 14th July) I never, ever get the chance to speak to my colleagues (Pre 95) *Do you ever go into the staff room?* Very rarely. *Why?* Because I get moaned at. *Who moans at you?* Who moans at me? (laughter) Oh, the other teachers. You get 'such a boy in your form was doing this, I had to throw him out,' you know. *So, you don't find the staff room a very positive experience?* Oh, not at all. *Why?* I think teachers are born moaners personally. I think they do moan. Go in there for yourself and find out. (laughter) (Post 147 – 156)

Mary does not communicate with teachers effectively because of the three-way dialogue that she describes. This dialogue is more to do with assertion of a point of view than with an exchange of ideas. Dennis gets little chance to talk to other teachers as he is 'stuck' in a Science room on his own. He is 'lonely' and 'isolated'. When he does get into the staff room, a place that he tries to avoid, he still does not communicate effectively, he is simply subjected to 'moaning'. Dennis talked openly about how desperate he was to leave (Pre 1 – 11), and how he would do anything at the end of the year rather than stay. He was as good as his word.

Barry at *Churchcomp* has regrets about being a teacher and severe doubts about the idea of teaching being a profession.

Sometimes it seems a small world - the teaching world and you regret that you haven't got the experience to write a decent novel even if you had the talent. I wish that I'd bummed around a bit more ... but the kind of responsibility at 20 ... I've missed a bit of bumming around. *Small world, what do you mean? Teaching* ...Lack of people to encounter. Different sorts of people. (Pre 22 -24).

Profession generally means in the 19th century terms - self-governing and it's not that. It suffers from being historically ... sort of below stairs...How do I regard its professional status? Well I don't have very ... high regard for the professional status... as far as I'm concerned, preserving monopolists and, thank God, I'm not there. (Pre 67 – 70)

Barry rejects the value of respect and here he doubts the value of being seen as a teacher. He conceives of the teachers' world as a narrow place of limited experience. In addition to demeaning the world of the teacher he demeans his own ability. When he expands upon his understanding of the term 'profession' he is pleased that he does not have the associated views of the 'preserving monopolist'. He thinks that teaching is of low status, subservient and deferential.

Four teachers have now made reference to the little regard, indeed the lack of respect that they have for teachers. Here, Gordon expresses his concern for the lack of respect amongst teachers for each other as people.

Well, I just feel personally, even attitudes in staff rooms. People do not always respect other people. They might respect that they teach well, but they don't respect them as a person. Whether that is important in how that person does his or her job, I'm not sure. (Pre 101)

Mary wanted to be seen as a person whilst Gordon, also at *Boyscomp*, refers to the way that teachers don't respect each other as people. Gordon left teaching all together to train to become a paramedic within weeks of the completion of phase two.

Implications of dilemma position one: concerned with teacher integrity, negative self-image and desire for independent thinking and enjoyment that undermines some of the attendant values of Schooling.

The nature of the role model and professionalism are disputed, calling for autonomy, unconventional behaviour that challenges the norms of society and a rejection of professionalism as a managerial or self serving concept. Critical thinking and enjoyment sit uneasily alongside the examination imperative. Informants have a negative self-image, which contains a partial critique/penetration of the ideological underpinning of the teacher. To be a teacher requires the mortification of certain human attributes. For example, communication is distorted and is only in one direction, from the teacher to the pupil, or to other teachers. Schooling demands that communication must be manipulative (strategic) rather than a two way process which explores meaning. Another example, drawn from the work on respect, would be the denial of friendship. There is a similar denial of the role of Subject. None of the teachers invoked the characteristics of Subject to explain their perception of the value of the teacher. Five teachers recognise these demands

upon them, and they resist the mortifying aspects of schooling by their absence from school. Dennis and Gordon leave teaching for new careers; Betty volunteers for a part-time contract. Barry, after a long battle against Schooling in his own idiosyncratic style, takes early retirement, whilst Mary continuing in her combative style (Post 18 – 26), resumes teaching after a long absence from stress related illness. If teachers are meant to be role models for pupils and, in Jenny's words, for each other then this model undermines the attendant values of Schooling.

In the next section, the tensions between the negative perceptions of Self embodied in dilemma position one and the characteristics of Schooling embodied in dilemma position two are explored.

Dilemma position two: asserts that integral to being a teacher is the promotion of a role model and passivity that undermines the engagement characteristics and values of the teacher.

The first dilemma position provides evidence to support the proposition that the Self, particularly the characteristics that support the engagement image of the teacher, is at odds with the characteristics of Schooling. Yet, here the data shows that the promotion of the values and characteristics of schooling is central to the teachers' role.

Schooling

Passivity/obedience and certification with elements of serving state/political interests.

In this section five teachers explain how they are constrained by the examination system, and how this can lead to passivity, bordering upon disengagement. It is an interesting observation that the four teachers that accept this situation are all Science teachers. The teacher who identifies the pressure for obedience, but who does not endorse this position is Barry, the head of English at *Churchcomp*.

I think we are coming into a situation where business methods, ...and business language are in danger of preventing normal, critical examination. We're being conditioned to use the language of our employers in order to get on....what we have got to do is take it apart. I believe in the dialectic. You know, I am not a Marxist but I do believe the truth is arrived at by combat, not by here is the way you must express yourself....I just think the whole notion of senior management is getting totally out of hand. You can see a headmaster being with a team ... with one or two to advise him making sure that the lowest common denominator amongst the teachers is prodded in the right direction, you know, trash them up or boozing... you need a safety net.....the senior management is expanding all the time, so we create irresponsibility's in school by the notion of senior management.There isn't a division of responsibility as there is say in banks or there is in business shareholders, directors, employees, there is no division of responsibility yet we have all the apparatus of a division of responsibility and a division of interest. (Pre 99)

Barry previously talked about the 'proper teacher', and how he did not fit this model. He was 'naked in the conference chamber.' The proper teacher frightened pupils, and he never frightened them. Teachers should be able to take pupils beyond where their parents could take them. Proper teachers were too influenced by business methods, business language, business organisation, which encouraged a division of responsibility, and a division of interest that is inappropriate in schools where responsibility lies with all staff. The language of business was preventing normal, critical examination from taking place. Schools had the apparatus for the division of responsibility and interest. Teachers had to learn the language of business to prosper, and he felt this was wrong. He believed that truth was arrived at through combat, not the imposition of consensus.

Teachers should be risk takers, and they should explore the 'infinite possibilities'. Young teachers may be the best teachers in the school, and yet school structures did not allow infinite possibilities and rewarded division of interest and responsibility.

How do you identify good teaching and bad teaching then if you don't measure it? Happy kids basically. You've got to admit if you've got happy kids and oral results, but as it happens I've never had to face that. As it happens, especially in the last few years, statistically I'm all right and I suppose I got the job here because statistically I was all right. I tell you what is the exact analogy. When you're learning music some piano teachers they want you to get grade 1, grade 2, grade 3, something measurable, yeah? And I think it's far more important that you should stimulate an interest and love of music but you can't bloody measure it. (Pre 124 – 125)

Certification is used to check if a teacher is 'all right', and Barry is 'statistically...all right.' Barry does not accept the justice of this form of evaluation, but he is subjected to it nonetheless. Indeed he thinks that he has his job because of it. He argues that the drive for examination success can be counter-productive in terms of learning, but nonetheless he is bound by it.

Barry worries about the move to consensus and obedience, and recognises the further constraint of the examination system. Bowles and Gintis (1976) would recognise the drive for subservience in relationships through a business ideology, not just between pupils and teachers, but also between teachers, as indicative of the correspondence between the social relations of the workplace with the social relations of the school. Barry continues to question these processes: questioning, the life blood of teaching as he sees it.

Betty, at *Co-edcomp*, by her own admission, has ceased to question.

If you could choose, would you still teach those dry aspects of your subject? That's a difficult one. I suppose that depends from what point of view. I mean I don't question it anymore now, I just do it. It is on the syllabus so I just do it. And sometimes we can have a laugh out of the fact that it is not a particularly entertaining piece of work. We just make a joke out of it: 'Here we go, carbon cycle again, yawn.'I don't question it anymore because I am given a syllabus. I've got to teach to it; I've got to get some exam results at the end of it, and if I don't cover the syllabus then I don't get the results. And so I don't question it. I get the syllabus and I work to it. (Pre 84 – 95)

Betty no longer questions what she is doing. She follows the National Curriculum. Her beliefs or values do not enter into it, although, as we see later, she does think that the environment is important she would not consider this political. When opportunities open up, or coincide with her values, she takes that opportunity. How much sympathy and understanding can a teacher show in practice to pupils, when the imperative is determined away from the classroom? Betty understands that pupils may be bored by Science content, and she shows sympathy by making a joke of it. In this sense she does have regard for those qualities that Roger described, but sympathy and understanding are defined and constrained by the syllabus. She has this to say about that syllabus:

If you are wanting central control of things, then yes it has advantages.....I don't think that politics should be allowed to influence education. And I think that there is less chance of that if you have got a National Curriculum. But, that is about the only advantage that I can see. *Isn't the National Curriculum politically determined?* Erm, possibly it is, but I don't, certainly from the point of view of what is in the Science syllabus. I can't see any political leanings in it. (Pre 131-137)

Betty transmits the syllabus, and by implication the values embedded in it. She thinks that it is 'possibly' politically determined, but this is not a great concern to her, maybe because she does not question anymore. The positivism embedded in her views, and her resignation to the structures she operates within has some resonance with Althusser's (1971) view that the individual is merely an instrument of the state, and Marcuse's (1972) reference to technical rationality which denies the individual the freedom to determine their own lives.

Farouk, at *Scigirl*, welcomes the intervention of the government and 'educationalists' in determining the National Curriculum.

I think in terms of the curriculum everybody in the country should have the same.I think, the National Curriculum is a good idea.every child should have a minimum amount of things that he or she should be taught. So, the teacher, who didn't have an overall view of what the children need, especially secondary school, the teachers are limited to a subject... I think the Government and the educationalists

in the Government have an overall view of what the children need for their future. But, the teacher will determine the method for this. Different teachers, different people have different approaches to things and if the teacher, deliver the kind of things, the way they think it is best they can do the best for the children. (Pre 174-178)

Farouk accommodates (Woods 1979) the agency of the teacher with the structure of the National Curriculum by arguing that there is a division of labour (Bowles and Gintis 1976). The government and 'educationalists' determine the content, whilst the teacher determines the method of delivery. This sounds quite plausible, and he is not the only teacher to argue this. Gerry, an English teacher at *Co-edcomp*, argues from a similar perspective. However, Keith's *Churchcomp* description of the reality of Science teaching raises some doubts as to the validity of this position. Keith's work with pupils is completely defined by the syllabus.

The course is exam driven totally. Every few minutes we will be saying 'syllabus says this, syllabus says that. Get your syllabus out, check we have done so and so. Pick me up if there is any word you don't know and stop me.' They are encouraged to highlight the syllabus as we go along, and take ownership for their own work, hopefully. (Post 24-29)... they have got to know what to do. Hoops to jump through. (Post 70)

There is a contradiction in Keith's wish for pupils to take ownership of their own work when that work is imposed by others, including Keith. Teachers and pupils alike are expected to be passive receivers of the information required to pass the examination, severely limiting any scope that Keith may have to control the method of teaching.

Keith is a good example of how teachers attempt accommodation of the demands of Schooling with their own conflicting aims. Keith wants to have some influence over the teaching of Science topics, and yet there are structural considerations that limit this.

Teachers should.... ...have the ability to determine how to teach a topic. If you are told what the topic is then you should have a say on how to teach that. *Do you have that?* It varies. In lower school Science there is a scheme which says what they teach in every lesson, and that will cut down their individual flair. But because they are non specialists in two of the three areas we have to have a teaching scheme which dots the 'I's' and crosses the 'T's' and leads them by the hand. (Post 24 – 29)....The National Curriculum removes individual choice that used to be present for teachers...It

is bringing teaching throughout the age ranges into the straight jacket that Year 10 and 11 used to have imposed by GCSE. (Pre 60 –74)

Keith clings to the belief that teachers have control over the method of delivery, even though he accepts that pupils follow the syllabus and highlight it as they go along. In Key Stage 3 there is a scheme that 'cuts down flair', removes choice and puts teachers in a 'straightjacket'. Gordon at *Boyscomp* echoes the constraints that Keith, Farouk and Betty have referred to.

If you have a vast amount of knowledge available in the world, someone has got to decide which bit should be taught to kids. If it is left to individual teachers, everyone will do it a bit differently, perhaps. The thing is if you are going to have testing, which people seem to want at various key stages, and the way it has been done everybody has testing at GCSE level, then like I do not see it much different at that level. You follow a syllabus..... It fits in with all of the requirements. So, you just follow the syllabus and use the knowledge that is in there to guide your lesson. (Pre 155-161)

This loss of autonomy has implications for how the pupils see their teachers, and how teachers see each other. Indeed we will see how Gordon's pupils, understanding the way in which he is driven by exam success, sympathise with him, but still behave in a disruptive manner, mainly because of boredom. Gordon is unhappy enough with the situation at school to leave teaching shortly after this interview. Yet, little is said about any disaffection with schooling. His only suggestion of discontent is with other teachers, as we saw earlier.

Have you ever disagreed with school policy or matters relating to the curriculum, and done anything about it? At this school? Yeah Er.....not really I think. I haven't been here long so I haven't found anything to disagree with. (Post 104 - 107)

To be a teacher implies accommodation of the characteristics of Schooling. Gordon, it can be seen in retrospect, was not able to do this. By accepting that the content is taken out of teachers' hands they can absolve themselves of responsibility, and by implication, further blame. Teachers promote the syllabus and exam success. Teacher obedience leads to frustration amongst their pupils, and lack of creativity amongst teachers. It also leads to

teachers behaving in a constrained and strategic way that continues to undermine the values that schooling promotes.

Teacher as Role Model

Being a teacher makes that person a role model. That is the inescapable conclusion of these informants. The described model is of caring personal and social relationships and social and academic success. This is a limited vision. It offers no view of the wider society, that education can change or develop things, nothing along the lines of creativity or the challenging of views that the informants expressed previously. The teacher as role model is a strictly limited vision. This section offers further evidence to support the views that teachers operate in a constrained and strategic way, adding further credence to the power of technical rationality (Marcuse 1972).

In 'Self: Doing the right thing' Mary wanted to be seen as a person, whilst Barry rejected the idea of being a role model at all. Both of these teachers reject fairly consistently the view that teaching is about schooling. Accepting that a teacher is a role model of the kind described here binds the teacher, no matter how reluctantly, into the characteristics and values of Schooling.

Millicent, Jenny and Derek articulate the caring social and personal relationships aspect of the dominant vision of the role model. Millicent at *Churchcomp* thinks that pupils draw positive lessons from teachers' behaviour.

Should teachers be role models for pupils? Yes, to a degree. How would you be a role model? By being kind and patient and understanding. Where do you get that idea of a role model from? Because that is how my favourite teachers were at school. (Post 74 - 79)

Millicent sees the role model characteristic as a positive image. She drew upon the positives, and wishes to emulate them. The qualities of patience and understanding were reinforced by what she saw in her teachers.

Jenny at *Engirl* also thinks that teachers are role models, not just for pupils, but for other teachers as well.

You mention role model. Do you see yourself as a role model? As a teacher you have to be to some extent. It is part of what you do. I also look at other teachers as role models. That is how people learn. I'm not sure that you always agree with them. You discard some bits and concentrate on the bits you like, and hopefully that is what the kids do as well. They get out what they like and discard what they don't. (pre 143-6)

She thinks that this is how people learn. They don't just take the positives, but also the negatives. If pupils take the negatives then some of the lessons they learn from teachers are not only the ones that teachers or the school might intend. If teachers look at other teachers then they learn that teachers do not respect other teachers (Gordon, Self: Negative self-image) and that teachers like power and are defensive (Mary, Self: Negative self-image).

Derek at *Boyscomp* further expands upon the idea of the inescapable reality of being a role model when he refers to the older pupils as role models for the younger ones.

Do you think that teachers should be a role model for pupils? But they can't help being a role model. Is it a good or poor model, or an indifferent model. You are a model (Pre 101 –102) Is it one of the teacher's functions, to be a role model. It isn't in the contract. But it is inescapable, even if you don't want to be a role model, I think that you are. The mere fact that you are there and you are wearing the hat of a teacher makes you a role model. It is up to you. We are still entitled to have our bad moments. We are not gods. and I say this to the pupils, I'm just like you. There will be times when I am absolutely cheesed off. Nothing to do with you. Three or four times this year I have been into a class and it has been quite obvious that I have been really miffed. Then I could tell as they settled down that I could tell, here we go, and we haven't done anything. I've actually looked at them and I have looked at them to say it is over and done with now, and this is the rest of the lesson. (Post 59 –62)

Derek argues that being a role model is inescapable when you wear 'the hat of a teacher'. During the section on respect Derek talked about the importance of rising above the behaviour of the pupils in order to demonstrate good behaviour and respect for authority. Wearing 'the hat of a teacher' implies asymmetrical social relations, where the teacher has more power than the pupil, to rise above their behaviour. In Derek's example the implication could be drawn that poor behaviour in the classroom is tolerated if the behaviour is that of someone in a position of power. If pupils and teachers pick up upon good and bad behaviour then they also pick up on the unequal power relations, and the implications that this has. These conclusions are inferred in the context of *Boyscomp* where, as we shall see in 'Informants and their pupils', pupils often reject the values of teachers and schooling, in particular the value of respect. Being a teacher carries with it the weight of schooling, and it is argued in this thesis that schooling, for example in the way that asymmetrical social relations operate undermines some of the very values, such as respect, that it tries to promote.

Gerry at *Co-edcomp* illustrates the difference between being a teacher and being a person. Gerry wants to promote behaviour, defined by the roles of teacher and pupil, rather than as Mary's person. Being a teacher reflects the functions and values of schooling, rather than the qualities of being a person.

What do you mean by role model? Well, I think there are certain things that we've got as individuals, not necessarily in terms of character, but approach to work. For example, when I take work in off students I give it back to them next lesson and it's marked and I mark it in such a way that I write down their achievements in that piece or work. I write down 'this is what you've done to improve'. So, I set them a target as well in every piece of work. And I think it's important that they understand that I'm organised. That they also have got to be organised and when I ask for a piece of work to come in on a set date its got to come in on that date. *When you say 'role model' does it broaden out to the way that you live your life, your ethical codes?* Well, I suppose it could. I would think that would be a bit of intrusion though becauseon my life. I don't mind children knowing

me in the community. I'm very much part of the community. Chairman of that big rugby club and I get myself in the paper a lot because of it, and I don't mind the children seeing me there, but I wouldn't want them involved in my own private ethical world, no. (Pre 34 - 51)

Gerry wants pupils to see his approach to work, to the technical dimensions of his life, not his 'private ethical world'. Gerry wants to exclude pupils from his ethical world. Exclusion from the ethical world of the person is a further mortification of values that are dear to, and motivate, the individual.

Susan at *Churchcomp* and Betty at *Co-edcomp* refer to themselves in a limited way as role models because they are women in Science. Mortification, a fear of articulating feelings that may not be acceptable to schooling, a denial of the human aspect of the teacher, is implied by the informants' limited analysis of how a role model may operate, how it might affect pupils, or other teachers. Their response is constrained. Susan does not think that she has much to offer the boys.

I'm a woman scientist. I'm a young woman scientist which is quite rare. So, certainly, for the girls I'd like them to think that, you know, anything's possible, kind of thing. *And what about the boys? Is there anything that they can learn from you apart from Science?* Possibly, but nothing springs to mind, that's terrible isn't it? (Post 90 -91)

Susan thinks that girls will draw the conclusion that 'anything's possible' because she is a woman scientist. This is a kind of vision, but she does not say how this might occur. Do pupils see her as a scientist, or as a teacher, or as both? Girls see plenty of female teachers. Does this imply that anything is possible? She has nothing to say on this, and when asked about how boys might see her 'nothing springs to mind'. Do boys not draw the same conclusion as girls? Do they draw different conclusions? If Susan has thoughts on this they are very private thoughts: the thoughts of a person, thoughts not considered appropriate for a teacher.

Betty also makes the point about being a woman scientist, but she also recognises that she can make a conscious decision to be a role model in terms of her own behaviour.

Do you see teachers as in any way being role models for pupils? Yes, I think that they can be. In what senses? That is difficult to put into words. I think for instance, I was taught at 'A' level by a young female Science teacher, who I thought was an excellent teacher, and I thought well if I decide to go on and be a teacher then I would like to be a teacher like she is. So, I suppose she was acting as a role model. She was very enthusiastic, so they can act as role models from that point of view. I mean, I think that you could argue that they are role models in all sorts of ways. I think that it could be very difficult for instance, for me as a Biology teacher to be teaching about the danger of smoking if I myself smoked. Because, I am supposed to teach about the dangers of smoking so how can I justify doing that if I smoked myself? I would feel uncomfortable if that was the case. (Post 53 -59)

Betty has been teaching longer than Susan, and it might be a matter of confidence, but she is a little more expansive about the teacher as a role model. Betty talks in her interviews about her concern for the environment. But she also talks about not questioning things any more. She pursues the issues that are important to her, and feels that pupils can learn from how she approaches these issues, but only when sanctioned by the syllabus.

The informants so far have described a role model that excludes the values and ethical world of the person, in favour of the limited, constrained and asymmetrical values of the teacher. Farouk summarises this tendency towards structuration (Giddens 1976) when he describes the role model in terms of favoured social and academic behaviour,

Should teachers be a role model for pupils? Yeah. What sort of a role model? First of all as a person in society, social position. As a form tutor. As a person who has gained qualifications, experience and knowledge. So, it's social behaviour, and academic. They should be in a social and personal position. The teacher should be a model for behaviour. (Post 63 – 68)

Farouk's model reflects the nature of the institution, reflects the structures and status of schooling. The lesson that teachers draw from these models is to leave the person behind, and become the role.

Implications of dilemma position two: that asserts that integral to being a teacher is the promotion of a role model and passivity that undermines a teacher's ability to engage with their work and with pupils.

This position asserts that integral to being a teacher is the promotion of characteristics and values related to schooling that leads to stripping teachers of certain parts of their selves. One of the major factors contributing to this mortification is the imposed consensus surrounding the examination imperative. This consensus uses the language of business to prevent critical scrutiny of the purposes of schooling. Schooling imposes a division between purpose and delivery. Teachers accommodate what might be termed a correspondence between business and schooling through claiming ownership of teaching methodology. In this way teachers' interests become bound to the very process that strips them of important aspects of their selves. Informants are left to develop the qualities of personal relationships (for example patience and understanding) within social relationships (for example teacher and pupil) that are simply assumed. The informants accept that they are role models, but, given mortification, this is undeveloped, further constrained by asymmetrical relationships. The characteristics of authoritarian schooling, in particular obedience and passivity in the face of an examination structure which determines the purposes of interaction, limits the role model to one of constrained personal relations, where the underlying aim is the 'capturing of the pupils' mind' (Schostak 1984).

In Chapter Six mortification is also evident in the manner in which informants explain exploration and curiosity. However, two further issues emerge in the next chapter: the denial of intrinsic value, and the distortion of instrumental value.

Chapter Six

Two research values of subject study

The first phase of research established the importance of Subject as a values context; a context not recognised by the QCA. Through an investigation of the value of exploration in English and the value of curiosity in Science assumptions about the value of subject study are challenged and linked to issues of low teacher self-esteem and mortification. Teachers yearn for a more meaningful classroom experience exemplified by the pursuit of exploration and curiosity based upon intrinsic value. This is currently denied by Schooling through the examination imperative and its attendant values of pupil certification/classification and the 'legitimate curriculum' of state/political interests that promote a distorted form of instrumental value, particularly in Science.

The assumption is made by the informants that subject knowledge is to be valued. This chapter provides further evidence, in terms of exploration and curiosity, that the value of subject knowledge is distorted and even denied.

Exploration in English

Exploration emerged through reading and re-reading the English informants' transcripts. The development of language, as an instrument of exploration, was highly valued by Mary (Pre 37 – 38), Sandy (Pre 28), Gerry (Pre 23 – 25), Roger (Pre 50), Barry (Pre 161 – 162), Millicent (Pre 106 – 108, 177 – 186, 201 – 202, 222, Post 26 – 37), Jenny (Pre 40 – 41, 47 – 49, 91 – 94, 167, Post 55 - 89) and June (Post 19 – 44, 117 - 130). Exploration

of feelings, meanings, situations and cultures has of course practical applications. Exploration, or the act of searching thoroughly, is included in the first statement of the aims of the GCSE (NEAB 1999b) and is also prominent in two out of the four assessment objectives. In relation to the examination imperative, exploration has instrumental purpose. However, exploration has been allocated to the intrinsic characteristic of the subject because of the enthusiasm and delight that teachers express in the process of exploration.

The two dilemma positions analysed are rooted in different contexts. The first position is located within Subject and represents the use by informants of the value of exploration to link the instrumental values of the subject, such as the power of language to express inner feelings with intrinsic values such as discovery of the inner self.

The second dilemma position is located within the context of Schooling and represents the demands of state and political interests for a 'legitimate curriculum' and the certification and classification of pupils, driven by the imperative of examination success. Examination success is considered a value of education which can be intrinsic in nature, but which is seen as primarily instrumental. The demands of Schooling, in particular the intrusion of an authoritarian respect based upon asymmetrical relations, and a constrained, technical-rational form of the role model serves to undermine the English teachers' ability to use exploration to link the instrumental values of the subject with its intrinsic values.

The intrusion of the 'legitimate' curriculum, pupil classification and the examination imperative, although unwelcome, does not cause as much tension as the dilemmas emerging from Respect, and the Teacher. English teachers are in general more self-confident in their opposition to the imperative of examination success than with the dilemmas inherent in respect and the teacher.

The data in dilemma position one is drawn primarily from two schools, *Engirl* and *Boyscomp*. The other teachers and their pupils provide supporting evidence for the issues raised in detail through these two schools. *Boyscomp* and *Engirl* predominate because the data is rich, and the experiences of the informants in the two schools are very different. Yet, at first glance the schools serve pupils from the same background and are situated on the same site. They are apparently only separated by a service road. In reality they are separated by gender, a different spread of ability and different pedagogical practices. *Engirl* have mixed ability classes and have an affinity with more democratic practice, in that seating and pedagogy promotes pupil participation to a greater extent than that of *Boyscomp*.

Engirl is an all girls school, and *Boyscomp* an all boys school. Over ninety percent of the pupils in both schools are of south Asian origin. This study does not address the issues of culture and gender within the south Asian community and the problems associated with poverty and civil strife that are significant factors in the daily experiences of these pupils. These are undoubtedly factors that impinge upon the experiences of teachers and pupils in the schools. However, the work that follows is limited to an exploration of the values

of the teachers in the school and classroom context. It is the contention of this thesis that the issues raised so clearly in *Boyscomp* and *Engirl* can be found to resonate in data from the three other informant schools.

Dilemma position one: represents the use by informants of the value of exploration to link the instrumental values of the subject, such as the power of language to express inner feelings, with intrinsic values such as discovery of the inner self.

Analysis of this dilemma position reveals two characteristics that the informants consider inherently linked: instrumental and intrinsic values. Investigating both these characteristics and that of pedagogy reveals the relationship between the two categories of values. However, it is in Sandy's data that the breakdown of this relationship between these two approaches to values is most clearly exposed.

Self

Doing the right thing

This dilemma position begins with a quote from Barry, which graphically illustrates how passionately he feels about the study of English.

The work when its coming in should be the job that we're doing together and everything else is, is second division. (Pre 127 -130)

This desire to put 'the work' before other considerations is indicative of the passion felt generally for their subject by the English informants. Passion, opinions and values emerge easily within this culture. Barry wants a relationship of 'intimacy' rather than

‘distance’, and this desire to ‘do the right thing’ drives the informants’ desire to use the skills of communication to explore the human condition.

You use the words bloody and bugger, (laughter). It’s taboo language but it is also an indication of intimacy. It’s a bonding thing isn’t it? And so it seems to be appropriate, when the kind of relationship that I want with them is intimate rather than distant....I think that it is habitual with me. And I would be under strain to try to delete expletives. We bought the wrong edition of “A Day in the Life of Ivan Denzovich” and it had fuck in it. And it was on the “Mirror” the following day. The parent had complained, mischievously as it turned out, because the school was supposed to be the repository of high standards, and she had been in trouble for not sending her kid to school or something. And she had said, “I’m not sending my kid there they are corrupting.” I was brought up in a pub, and part of going to public school and into a secondary modern was a necessity to accommodate my language in a socio-linguistic sense to the environment, quite determinedly, otherwise I was going to sound too pucker. (Post 11 – 25)

He justifies his use of such language as a desire for intimacy. However, he also recognises that being brought up in pub and a desire not to sound too ‘pucker’ - he had attended public school - made this use of language habitual. This extract is an illustration of self-confidence in the rectitude of pursuing ‘the work’. Barry rejects the technical-rational role model and wants a relationship of intimacy. He has made no attempt to strip out what is ‘habitual’. Exploring the intimate inner world of the human condition requires close, intimate relationships between teacher and pupil.

Subject

Intrinsic value of the subject

Mary talks with passion about her subject:

English is totally unique as a subject....it lends itself more than any other subject to my philosophy ...particularly through literaturewhere else is there an opportunity to explore all the kinds of issues that concern us as human beings? Where else can you find yourself? Where else can you discover the inner person? (Pre 37 – 38)

Mary emphasises a continuum, where instrumental concerns are used to explore the intrinsic. English is a subject where pupils can explore issues relating to the ‘inner person’, issues which concern pupils as ‘human beings’. This is a practical approach to the study of English, which despite the tensions evident between intrinsic and

instrumental value in the dilemmas in this section, manages to link the two more successfully than is the case in Science. This approach recognises that for pupils the satisfaction of intrinsic values (such as 'discovery of the inner person') will follow as a consequence of exploring practical concerns ('the kind of issues that concern us as human beings'). Linking the two is not unproblematic. The imperative of certification and classification of pupils driven by state and political interests; the constraints of a legitimate curriculum, and the demands of classroom management, revealed through pupil response to the two dilemma positions, endeavour to break this link.

Sandy talks in her interview of the power of language, and its ability to improve the quality of life. However, in the observed lesson Sandy was keen to emphasise literary tradition (Post 117 – 34). Discussion was about the feelings and motives of 'Macbeth' and Lady Macbeth, rather than interpretation through empathy, an approach used for example by Jenny who was also studying 'Macbeth' at *Engirl*. She approached the work from the intrinsic perspective, that works of literature could offer pleasure and value in themselves. This was an approach that was not observed amongst the other English teachers, where a more instrumental approach was used as a starting point. Her emphasis upon the pleasure to be gained from the literary tradition found little resonance amongst her pupils.

Well language, language is power, you know ... It helps you to express your feelings, you know, which is going to help you to be a more successful, happy human being. I think, you know, if you can talk about how you feel and what you really felt and what you really thought and then there's obviously the huge literary tradition,you can introduce people to something that's going to be a pleasure all their lives, Because they can go back to Shakespeare and back to Jane Austen and back to Dickens and back to poetry all their lives and find something from it. (Pre 28)

Pupils veer between 'I don't want to do anything,' and kids like you saw in this very low ability group who can't understand why they can't do GCSE.... It is a worthwhile certificate that they are doing. It's pre GCSE, it is good for their literacy skills, (Post 2 – 24)

Sandy wanted pupils to achieve instrumental and intrinsic value, but she, unlike other English teachers, was not clear as to the most effective starting point: the legitimate curriculum, or the experiences and needs of her pupils. English teachers want to link pupil interests to the values of the subject, values that can be identified as instrumental (language as power to express feelings and be successful) and intrinsic (happy human being and pleasure in literature). We see later that the failure of her pupils to accept this link leads her to consider leaving teaching. Sandy cannot understand why pupils resolutely refuse to accept her perception of English. The key lies in the nature of certification. These pupils are in year 10 and have been told that they are to be entered for a pre GCSE certificate. The pupils here do not accept that the subject has instrumental value, they do not recognise the worth of the pre GCSE certificate. Pupil rejection of instrumental value, and denial of intrinsic value is further explored in Chapter Seven.

Barry at *Churchcomp* wanted to explore Catholic values. He questions the instrumental value of subject study as constituted by the National Curriculum.

I would like to free myself of the National Curriculum GCSE obligations as quickly as possible; to create a definite Catholic literature programme so they know what they're rejecting, if they're rejecting. (Pre 62 - 66) I think we've lost our way with the National Curriculum. It's knocked us sideways. Instead of it being a Catholic school were now an Ofsted origin school and are we discharging the National Curriculum, and the consequences being that our ablest kids recognise the vacuum. The thing is everybody's thinking about their National Curriculum responsibilities. I think it's knocked us out of kilter. *Yeah*. Certainly with the modern approach to management as well. (Pre 148 - 152)

In these quotes he reiterates his desire to do the right thing but, first and foremost, to engage pupils in the books (Pre 37 46; Post 57 – 60). The GCSE was to follow on from that. There is a distorted instrumental value at work that prevents him from pursuing those things that he values: enjoyment, the nature of love – deep issues that are available

in a Catholic literature. He wants pupils to explore some of these deep issues so that pupils can know what they stand for, or against, and yet he is left with what he calls a 'deep vacuum'.

Jenny teaches across the service road from Mary and Sandy in *Engirl*. Her instrumental starting point is the improvement of language skills.

I'm just thinking of an example: the 'Role of Thunder' a text with Yr.11. One of the direct exam questions on that was 'How does this text describe the world of 1930's America; is this of any relevance to your world today?' So that is directly putting (*the pupils*) into that position of looking at the values in that text, and then relating it to your own personal values. Obviously, what I am really bothered about is having the language to express your values, and to be independent, and my job is to give students that independence, by improving their language skills. (Pre 47 -49)

These language skills are used to relate the values of a text based in 1930's America with the values of pupils of south Asian background in a northern English town. The link may seem tenuous, and in the pupil section of this chapter it is shown that she successfully manages to use the text as a vehicle for pupils develop their language skills and explore their own values.

Jenny's colleague, June, wants English to be 'exciting' for pupils:

....we were studying a film and it raised an issue of domestic violence and a lot of students were saying: well the woman should have obeyed her husband, and I did say something then. This was in Yr 10 and by Yr 11 they really had an awareness that part of that was respecting yourself and you didn't have to be treated like that Just giving them a real interest in English. I don't expect them all to love it, but I would hope for it to be exciting learning and using the imagination and so on..... (post 117 - 130)

Jenny uses the excitement and interest of the subject to link to the pupils' own experiences, to develop their skills in articulating these and then linking them to the intrinsic. The use of pupil imagination is important. The issue of domestic violence emerged from a poem dealing with that topic. This, like June's use of 'Role of Thunder',

was used to explore the pupils' own feelings about the subject, but also further enhanced the pupils' language skills.

Instrumental values of the subject.

With the exception of Sandy at *Boyscomp*, instrumental value is simply at one end of a continuum of subject value, with instrumental value at the other end. It would be misguided to characterise English teachers as being in obsessed pursuit of inner revelation. These informants are passionate about the part English can play in the satisfaction of deep individual needs. However, it has also been shown that English can serve a more practical purpose, as a tool, and as a qualification. Mary explains how English teaching has a responsibility to develop practical life skills.

For me it is all about communication, how to develop relationships with people in order to develop ourselves fully. We have to be able to mix with anyone. (Pre 41 – 60)

The instrumentality of communication is linked to the intrinsic nature of self-development and relationships. Jenny, in another example, makes explicit the link between communication skills, the development of confidence and exploration of personality:

.... developing their communication skills, and in terms of their language, confidence. In terms of reading, writing, speaking, listening. In order to do that you naturally go into areas of personality as well. Which goes hand in hand with developing language skills, and equipping students, when they leave school with the world of work; and to gain as many language skills as possible, and as much confidence in using English in many contexts. (Pre 30 – 33) Language is a very powerful thing, and the more control you have over language, and the more you can be confident when you use it, and know when to use it then the better able you are to be equipped for a lot of situations. (Pre 37 – 38)

Jenny talks about the power of language, just as Sandy does. Language offers pupils the prospect of control over their lives in different situations, including the world of work.

Jenny makes the point that instrumental aims need to be pursued in an appropriate context.

I might have a view of vocational through GNVQ, which we take a part in: Communication Skills. I don't think that works as successfully as the programmes I see in English where the skills are integrated into the content. (Pre 89 – 90) I think that education is about creating enthusiasm. I think sometimes it is too narrow and related to things that maybe aren't that interesting. (Pre 91 – 94)

Jenny thinks that it is a mistake to concentrate upon the instrumental out of context.

Developing skills through content that is interesting is vital, as this creates enthusiasm.

June also teaches at *Engirl* and makes a similar point.

My aim of the lesson was to engage with the poem, 'cos they will be writing about it themselves for the GCSE. And getting them to think about the language, and getting them informally to think about the patterns of the poem, without me going through them formally at this stage. The presentational side of it is really to get them to engage in the poem, for themselves, rather than me just presenting the information. I'd like them to discover things for themselves as well, and this is a way of doing that. (Post 19 – 44)

It is important that the benefits of skills aren't simply delivered to pupils, but that they have the opportunity to benefit from the skills of analysis through their own genuine exploration of the texts that they are studying.

Sandy has shown that pupils can reject instrumental value if they do not value the certificate. Jenny warns about the pursuit of the instrumental out of context. Gerry, at *Co-edcomp* thinks that the exam regime doesn't reflect English in its 'broadest' sense, and in his description of the benefits of Drama we get some insight into what these broader aspects are.

Why do you think that Drama is important? Merely to give the students an insight into character. I think they get more of an insight into character through thinking how people would react to certain things. How people react to events, how people speak to each other: The inflection in the voices and how we understand as individuals, other individuals through a whole variety of interpretations of language. (Pre 23 – 25)

Gerry would like to see Drama entrenched more deeply in the National Curriculum because it would offer more opportunities to gain insight into character through technical

interpretations of language. Gerry also makes two further points that children need to understand: the shifts of language and the concept of audience, which he thinks are inherent to English in the National Curriculum (Pre 84 – 5).

June and Jenny, as suggested by their data and the data of their pupils, are the most successful in linking the intrinsic value of exploration with the instrumental value of language. Gerry, Roger, Mary, Barry, and Millicent all talk about the focus of exploration and discovery. Sandy, as we have already seen, talks in more disengaged terms about the characteristics of her classroom. She talked earlier about language as power. Part of this power is its ability as a qualification to offer pupils a route out of deprivation.

I think this is your only chance out of *XXXX Lane* and *INNER CITY*, and out of the drugs and prison and all the things that are there, waiting for you. This is your only chance to get some qualifications. To get a life for yourself, and it really is serious, you know. And it just won't go in, it just doesn't connect with them. *Do you know why it doesn't connect?* The family will always be there for them: That they actually don't know what the world is like outside. They don't know what they are missing out on. And they don't know how competitive things are. (Post 27 – 52)

The school serves a part of the city that is notorious for drug dealing and prostitution. It has also been the centre of two major riots in seven years. Sandy is passionate about English as a tool, and its use as a qualification to escape these aspects of their environment that are 'waiting there'. Sandy is frustrated that pupils do not seize the opportunity. This opportunity does not 'connect' with pupils and she speculates that they are sheltered by their families and do not know how competitive things are. This may be part of the story, but another part is evident in the nature of their qualification. These pupils are taking a pre-GCSE certificate. There is a trend in the pupil data in which there is a correlation between negative pupil attitudes to the subject, the teacher, and the school and the classification of pupils by schooling.

A desire on the part of teachers for a seamless link between the intrinsic and the instrumental is not sufficient in itself to ensure that it happens. Sandy shows the frustration evident when this seamless whole is fractured. There are other factors that need to be in place for the English informants' preferences to be achieved and these are revealed by further examination of the tensions evident between and within the characteristics of pedagogy.

Importance of pedagogy.

A central theme emerges with regard to pedagogy and that is the ability of the teacher to encourage communication with and amongst pupils. *Engirl* was unique amongst the sample of English classes: they had mixed ability across the year (although Millicent's Drama class in *Churchcomp* was also mixed ability). Mary would have liked mixed ability classes, but she did not think this was possible with pupils that she had because of their limited ability range (Pre 41- 60). Sandy's position is not clear, although she bemoans the lack of a 'critical mass' of motivated pupils in the cohort (Post 2 – 24). This lack of a critical mass affects the ability of the teacher to engage pupils in the process of using the instrumental value of the subject to explore the intrinsic. Jenny explains why mixed ability teaching is so important.

I have to say to say for the purposes of English teaching I prefer mixed ability teaching. I feel that it is possible to do a lot of differentiation by outcome in English. And I feel that the quality of discussion tends to be better in a mixed ability class, and I feel that allows the students to reach their full potential. (Pre 22 – 23)

Mixed ability teaching affects the attitude of the pupils, who were keen to listen to their teachers and other pupils. This encourages them to communicate ideas and to explore

values from different perspectives. There is not a single perceived view of the texts. Everything is available for interrogation by class discussion. June shares this preference for mixed ability teaching. She says that all can benefit.

How should English be taught? I think that it should be taught mixed ability. I would have had doubts....But, from teaching here I've seen the mixed ability and I have seen how they interact, and kids of lower ability learn so much from higher attaining children. And also the other way around as well. Which can be quite surprising really, how much the lower ability kids have to offer as well. I think in English there should be a balance between group work as well and teaching from the front. Sometimes it would be wrong to teach from the front without getting the students to interact. (Pre 10 – 32)

Forty six percent of *Engirl* pupils were at level 5 or above in English at KS3. *Boyscomp* have twenty seven percent at the same age. Mary's argument is that June and Jenny have a more comprehensive spread of ability and so the 'lower ability' and the 'higher achieving' can learn from each other. The pedagogy of group discussion, respect for opinions devoid of 'status' associated with setting or banding encourages the pupils to value their own contributions and use their developing skills to explore the views, values and characters of others. The result is not so much the transmission of skills and exploration but the active construction of these skills by the pupils.

Whilst teaching 'Macbeth' Jenny aimed to bring her pupils into contact with different moralities, so that they could explore them, but not to impose any particular one. Her class presented scenes they had selected from the play in a style of their own choosing. She did not wish to impose her own values, although she felt that the 'community values' of the school were also 'common values' of tolerance, and learning to live with other people who may not share the pupils' own cultural perspective. The purpose of this framework was to allow the pupils to develop skills associated with independence of

thought. Jenny's pupils reflected this approach, recognising the complexities of different situations, and the difficulties of making decisions in the 'real world'.

June was using an anthology of poems published by the exam board and, like Jenny, her values were expressed largely in terms of procedure. The observed lesson involved the study of a poem by Simon Armitage, which dealt with, among other things, domestic violence. June's approach was similar to Jenny's, encouraging co-operation, and the consideration of many issues that arose from the reading of the poem. June felt that it was important that English should broaden horizons and enable youngsters to explore personal and moral issues: a view shared by her pupils. June and Jenny thought that many of the issues relating to personal and social education would arise 'naturally' through the study of English if taught in this way.

The classes at *Engirl* were organised and strongly structured by the teachers to encourage discussion, and the sharing of ideas amongst the pupils. Seating arrangements were based on the premise that pupils needed to interact, not just with the teacher but with each other and, although the teacher had important expertise that the pupils did not possess, it was important that pupils should see each other where at all possible. Jenny's class was arranged in a circle the day they performed their scenes from 'Macbeth', and June's class was grouped around tables where discussion amongst the pupils could be encouraged. Through the expression of views about the subject matter, a respect for each other's contribution, no matter what the pupils' perceived abilities, and the underlying principle

of adhering to community values, these classrooms displayed aspects of communicative action (Habermas 1981).

The teachers at *Engirl* also shared a wider philosophy within the department, but there was little opportunity to do this with the rest of the school.

I was attracted to this particular department because there was freedom. There is a specific ethos in the department, that we all have quite a similar attitude towards teaching and I think that we teach in quite similar ways to a certain extent; but I might be wrong about that....*Do you discuss methods of teaching with anybody in this school?* I think we do quite a lot in the department. I don't think you get a chance to with other lessons, unless you are covering them you see that types of things that are going on. I think it is a pity. I don't think that there is enough time. I think that is the problem, time. But you don't really get to see what other teachers are doing. Which is a pity. But we discuss it in the department, and at faculty meeting and so on. And also because the office is at the back of B1 - it has a very thin wall - and you can actually hear all the things that are going on in there. So, I've heard loads of classes through there. (Post 60 – 70)

Jenny and June found many opportunities to discuss methods of teaching within the department, but June's understanding of other teachers' work was limited to listening through the stock room wall.

The teachers at *Engirl* are able to establish an ethos within the department that allows them to put into practice their shared values of language development, exploration, and equal opportunities. They were clearly at ease with their own departmental environment, an environment that they had helped to shape. They were also fortunate that their school population allowed them to pursue these values through a pedagogy that centred upon mixed ability classes that valued open and sincere communication.

Implications of dilemma position one: that represents the use by informants of the value of exploration to link the instrumental values of the subject, such as the power of language to express inner feelings with intrinsic values, such as discovery of the inner self.

All the informants wanted to actively pursue the link between the intrinsic and the instrumental through exploration using the power of language. This data indicates difficulties associated with this position, difficulties explored in dilemma position two. English has affinity with passionate opinions and values and their exploration requires intimate relationships with pupils. The demands of the examination imperative, reliant upon a legitimate curriculum, and certification of pupils, serve to weaken, but not fatally undermine, these relationships. The pedagogy of critical awareness that in *Engirl* can be described as communicative enables teachers to realistically pursue real engagement with the values of the subject.

Dilemma position two: the demands of certification, classification and a legitimate curriculum undermine the link between instrumental and intrinsic values.

The informants identify most strongly with the preference of linking the instrumental and intrinsic through exploration in dilemma position one but they also show a critical awareness of the limitations imposed by 'legitimate knowledge' and the imperative of 'examination success' in dilemma position two. Sandy, June and Roger offer insight into a further tension – the classroom management of pupils who partially penetrate the

ideology of the hidden curriculum (Willis 1977) – an insight that is fully revealed in ‘Informants and their pupils’.

Schooling

Passivity/obedience

Mary understands that schooling can lead to passivity in pupils, and she wants to discourage this. Mary (Pre 92 – 96) has made the point that many teachers enforce a three way dialogue which prevents meaningful communication between teacher and pupil. Communication in this three way dialogue resonates with the strategic action of Habermas (1981), rather than with communicative action. Mary is opposed to this and explains here how strategic action works through the tendency of teachers to practise education as the absorption of facts. She explains this through drawing out the distinction between being a ‘head learner’ and the practice in ‘most lessons’.

What would be the role of the teacher in the ideal classroom? As head learner: to be there to stimulate and provide ideas, to be used as someone who has an opinion, that needs to be considered, who may deliver facts. Facts are easy to deal with in a way because ‘facts’ is a one way communication, and I will give you a fact and so you do not challenge it. In most lessons there are a lot of stuff given out as facts which aren’t facts. In my lessons it’s the least, but it is part of the role. (Pre 41 – 60)

Facts are transmitted and opinions are to be considered and challenged. Her data is peppered with her desire that pupils should consider, and think critically about the world around them. The transmission of facts encourages passivity and she thinks that teachers rely upon this too much. Whilst she might consider the presentation of facts to be necessary she would rather be considered a ‘head learner’ along with her pupils in order to explore the world around and within them. Sandy, Mary’s colleague at *Boyscomp*, does

not share her concern. Sandy argues that communicative action is difficult to implement. She invokes a schooling argument to explain the use of strategic action.

(Pupils) tell me what I want to hear.. That is role play. We all do that. In fact being an adult, as opposed to being a child, is the ability to role play. I think that might be one definition of being an adult. in English instead of feeding stuff in we are trying to draw out a reaction from students. Nobody asked us did they? Nobody said, 'Is this doable? How much of this can you do?' (Post 117 – 34)

When Sandy's pupils respond to the researcher's questions by supplying answers that they think the researcher wants to hear Sandy explains that adults do this as well, and that 'role play' is a characteristic of adulthood. English tries to draw reactions out, but she thinks that this is an aim imposed upon her; that is extremely difficult to achieve, and impractical with her de-motivated pupils.

Serves state/political interests

The imposition of a National Curriculum has resulted in the imposition of a prescribed reading list. This prescribed list is the issue that these informants have the greatest difficulty with. However, Sandy recognises an important implication of a prescribed list, the creation of what Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) would term 'cultural capital'.

...I would worry if a child went right through from five to sixteen knowing nothing about Shakespeare or who Shakespeare was or anything about that, you know, because I mean you do meet adults....who are very shy and very kind of timid and have low self-esteem because they know they don't know a great deal about I think people should have a cultural intellect.well if you don't know Shakespeare you're a dummy, you know, (Pre72)....every educated person has an acquaintance with Shakespeare.... My future hobby horse thing with Shakespeare is that people hate it and they think it's desperate because he didn't mean it to be read out of a book. He meant it to be watched.....I would like kids to know why they are being taught something. That is where I think we miss out....I would like kids to know why they are doing Shakespeare. (Post 117 – 34)....

Apple (1995 p13) argues that it is the role of schooling to allocate cultural capital and to label deviant those who do not possess it. Sandy also thinks that pupils not possessing this capital, in this case Shakespeare, are disadvantaged. It undermines their self-

confidence. Sandy has made the point that English can be these pupils' 'chance out of ~~XXXX~~ Lane and *Inner City*'. What is frustrating for Sandy is that the pupils do not appear agree that she is providing worthwhile route out ('it just doesn't connect with them') of a segregated community (Post 27 - 52). Sandy worries about her pupils' future, and is frustrated that they cannot see the same solution that she can.

She is frustrated by her pupils' response to the epitome of legitimate knowledge – Shakespeare. She thinks that pupils 'hate' it, and think that it is 'desperate' because Shakespeare should be watched, not analysed out of context on the page. Her language is suggestive of Shakespeare being done to pupils, rather than with them. He pupils do not know why they have to do Shakespeare, suggesting that either she has not told them about the importance of cultural capital, or 'it just doesn't connect with them'.

Barry, rather than wishing that his pupils had a greater grasp of the legitimate knowledge of the state would rather that his pupils had a greater familiarity with the legitimate knowledge of the church. Indeed, he rejects what he calls the consensus, or Ofsted model of the school (Pre 148 – 152)

Has the last lot of curriculum stuff, has that made any difference to the way in which you teach? Not a lot, no. *How come?* Because I reject it. Don't quote me. *I have to ...* I have to take on the curriculum obligations which are part of the examination process. But for the rest it makes no difference. (Pre 37 - 46)

....what the government's imposed....Shakespeare, Key Stage 3 which is totally useless and silly, silly. I mean, it would be all right if the kids read like Victorian vicarage children. If they were reading Dickens at 11 they'd be able to crack the Shakespeare at 13 wouldn't they?....Shakespeare, the most difficult and complex of all that are writers....is just absurd (Pre 52 – 54).

I would like to free myself of the National Curriculum GCSE obligations as quickly as possible to create a definite Catholic literature programmeBut I've got to get those things done in the National Curriculum first to create the space for it. At the moment there is nothing in the literature that we do that's specifically Catholic or even Christian its ... Its got, its got the culture of the ...

reformation of the Mediterranean world of the Liturgy. The music, philosophy in the history and literature of Europe in a way that most schools do not have. (Pre 62 – 66, *also quoted in 'intrinsic value of the subject'*)

Barry has been teaching for thirty two years, and his interviews reveal a struggle against authority. He argues for a Catholic literature, but he is not a member of the Catholic Church, he is 'knocking on the door'. He takes a critical view of legitimacy and institutions, a view that has led to resignations and what might be termed 'incidents' ('Self: Doing the right thing; Barry'). He rejects the very literature (Dickens and Shakespeare) that Sandy feels is so important for the empowerment of her pupils.

Barry tries to make time for the literature that can, in his view, open up a whole new world. Barry's views on respect and the teacher indicate the conflict that drives him, indeed he talks about the power of the dialectic. He appears to thrive in this situation, although in the era of the 'Ofsted school' he decides to take early retirement. Barry, takes the clearest stance against, and demonstrates the greatest resistance to, 'legitimate knowledge'.

Barry has explained that for him the work is primary, and everything else is 'second division'. He tries to ignore the effects of schooling – for example, the way that classes are organised. He wants the 'emotional stability' of mixed ability, but they are setted (Pre 173 - 176), and rejects the 'rhetoric', 'solemnity', and 'missiles' of a 'proper teacher' (Post 64 – 74). He meets the obligations of the exam process but 'for the rest it makes no difference'. When Barry teaches Shakespeare which is 'totally useless and silly' and 'absurd' it is difficult to imagine that his pupils do not recognise this absurdity and silliness. It is also difficult to imagine that pupil reaction does not demand the 'rhetoric'

of the 'proper teacher' in the context of class grouping based upon setting that does little to create the security that he feels are essential for pupil development.

Barry's open response to pupils is difficult to reconcile with the closed schooling illustrated by Mary's observation of the three way dialogue. Barry fights mortification (Woods 1979), he struggles to maintain essential aspects of the Self, what Nias (1989b) might call the substantial self. The openness of Barry; the way that he uses language; the way he ignores the conventions of teacher power raises questions about how he survived for 32 years. It also asks what strategic action, and mortification does to those who suppress communicative action and engage in self denial.

Jenny, June, and Millicent are closest to Barry's views on legitimate knowledge, although their condemnation is not as strong. They feel that the form that it takes limits their ability to help pupils achieve their full potential. Jenny, at *Engirl*, talks generally of the restrictions placed on teachers (Pre 63 – 66, Pre 76 – 84) while June, her colleague, and Millicent, at *Boyscomp*, explain in greater detail their discomfort with the prescribed reading list.

you know what texts go down well with the students and a lot of them aren't prescribed....and I find that hard.and it doesn't allow for what we believe might be right for the students. I think that would be the thing that would frustrate me, and stop me from using my knowledge and skills almost. we weren't able to use Edgar Alan Poe because he wasn't down on the list and I found that very frustrating because I could think of how to use that as a good example of horror, ...something that they really enjoyed, like horror, by a really good writer and look at various aspects of his work but we weren't able to. (June: Pre 41 – 47)

...we're the ones that have to boost the ego of pupils that perhaps struggle and whereas I agree they should have a full range I believe we should be allowed to choose our own texts. I don't think we should have a prescribed list of people that we should study. I think that certain groups of writers are under-represented for example, more Black-American women writers..... There's other groups as well. More, basically more female writers if you look at the, that prescribed list that I've been talking about its mostly male writers whereas now there are so many female writers, influential female writers that I think more should be done to study them. (Millicent: Pre 55 – 72)

June and Millicent feel 'frustrated' at the denial of autonomy, that they are not able to use their knowledge of their pupils and their pedagogical skills. They are by passed by the imposition of prescribed reading. Both offer alternative lists, in the same way that Barry does. They feel that they would be better placed to stimulate their pupils if they had the freedom to introduce texts that they favour. Imposition of a prescribed list isn't simply leading to the under use of the teachers skills; it is contributing to 'mortification'. A picture emerges of a niggling and persistent battle between the intuitive values of the teacher and the constraints of schooling. This sublimation of the teachers' ability to interpret their social relations and act upon this interpretation continues with an examination of the influence of pupil certification and classification.

Certification/classification of pupils

Apple (1995) identifies two roles for schools. The first is the legitimation of selection through the curriculum, and the second is the classification of pupils through certification. The aim is to replicate the hierarchical nature of social relations in capitalist society. June, Jenny, Barry, and Mary have made clear their preferences for mixed ability teaching, which does not replicate these social relations. June and Jenny are able to use mixed ability teaching because of the range of abilities to be found in the school. *Boyscomp* do not arrange their classes in this way. Mary's ideal is mixed ability teaching because she wants to encourage pupils to be able to communicate effectively with each other. She does not think that this is appropriate for her classes because she says that her classes are 'mainly low ability'. The Ofsted data would appear to bear out this perception.

Twenty seven percent achieved a level five in English at Key stage three, whilst 46% achieved the same level at *Engirl*.

How should English be taught, in an ideal world, in this school? Ideally mixed ability groupings. In practice in this school, that will not work because in this school we haven't got a full range of ability. It's mainly the low ability groups with an amorphous group in the middle.... So how can you have a true mixed ability group, if you have in a school not a full range? *Why would you want mixed ability?* Because that is to the benefit of everyone. Because that is the ideal society that we should be able to live in. For me it is all about communication, how to develop relationships with people in order to develop ourselves fully we have to be able to mix with any one, whether it ability, class, race or whatever to me that is the ideal way to formulate groups but it does not work in here....I felt it would be a joke because it would not be truly mixed ability, because of our boys lack of attainment, they have not attained what their potential is we would be better in English to go for very flexible banding sets and the beauty I think and the thing that I am most proud of with the department is that I believe, and I think the boys believe, I keep asking, that there is no stigma in being in what the boys call 'our bottom set.' Because from Yr 9 there can be movement any way, right up to the last term of the 'O' level in English. That does not happen in other areas in our school (Pre 41 – 60)

The narrow spread of ability limits the potential for mixed ability classes, classes that work positively in *Engirl*, where pupils of all abilities recognise and accommodate the needs of less able pupils. Although the pupils of *Engirl* and *Boyscomp* have pupils of similar cultural backgrounds the ability make up of the two schools appear different. *Engirl* attracts a higher percentage of pupils with level five skills at Key Stage 3 (both schools are 13 – 18 and therefore the pupils only enter the schools in the last year of Key Stage 3). Sandy's pupils alternate between frustration and 'cheerful indifference' to borrow one of Barry's memorable phrases.

Sandy (*Boyscomp*) endorses Mary's views on *Boyscomp*'s lack of a 'critical mass' of kids who are motivated.

Why do you think that kids make silly noises and act in a daft way? I think it is because, in that class the boy who initiated that has been having a very, very difficult time in school, and he has been suspended for a long time, about 9 weeks.....You know, I think he had a position of power and I think that he had to re-establish that.... so I think he thought 'well if I make starting hee-hawing noises in *Sandy*'s class then that is extra kudos, sort of thing.' And of course he wasn't the only one doing it,But it is very wearing. It is one of the reasons why I want to leave, because we have no sanctions, really, and we have no, you know there is just nothing you can do with these kids. I suppose that in a middle class school they have got a critical mass of kids.who are saying 'I want to be an engineer. I want to be this, I want to be that. I need these GCSE's. Shut up stop making these stupid noises.' We don't have that. We just have no sanctions. So, it is just,

you just hope that they will do it.They veer between 'I don't want to do anything,' and kids like you saw in this very low ability group who can't understand why they can't do GCSE...(Post 2 – 24)

Sandy provides a glimpse here of an alternative value system at work amongst some of her pupils, especially those alienated by Schooling. They ignore the rewards to be gained from achieving certification (partly because a 'C' grade at GCSE is out of their reach) and disengage from the process. Pupils reject the power of English and the power of certified legitimate knowledge. She finds the situation wearing and wants to leave teaching. The pupils are caught in a vicious circle of low achievement, disengagement, and further low achievement. The irreverent language used by Sandy in parts of her interviews is indicative that she too is caught in their circle, and wishes to escape.

Sandy's despair at pupil failure to make the link between legitimate knowledge and the power that resides there prompts her to reject the linkage of instrumental and intrinsic value for her pupils. But there are other problems for Sandy. Her pupils do not aspire to GCSE as it is seen to be out of their reach. They have to study a pre-GCSE certificate, which is low in exchange value and therefore undermines the ideology of commodification (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Hargreaves 1982; Apple 1995). The pre-GCSE is a commodity that Sandy's pupils do not want to buy. It is a commodity that will be difficult to sell on, to employers or admissions tutors. She also thinks that the curriculum is inappropriate, despite talking earlier about the power of Shakespeare. She advocates a more immediately identifiable instrumental curriculum:

I think it is because there is such a mismatch between the curriculum that we have got, and the students that we have. The curriculum that we have doesn't mean a lot to them. *The National Curriculum?* Yeah, yeah. There is that and then the fact that they have language difficulties. The fact that, I don't approve of the three tier structure. It is just not long enough from the age of 13 to try to get them upto GCSE. They are coming in at levels 2 and 3 and you can't get them upto level

7 in just two years. It is impossible, so you have got that pressure all the time. And then there is the silliness, the immaturity. The lack of self discipline. (Post 57 – 61)

The implementation of a classification strategy poses further problems for the delivery of a legitimate curriculum. Firstly, pupils reject the instrumental value of English because of the low value of their qualification, and they reject the legitimate curriculum if the starting point is the perspective of cultural capital. Given the nature of *inner city* where can such capital be spent? Secondly, the drive for classification distorts subject study, so that the legitimacy of the subject is undermined for the teachers. This asserts itself as low level discontent, a rumbling of angst amongst the informants, rather than a movement of resistance. Gerry is a good example of an English teacher who only partially penetrates the ideology of schooling. He feels that his subject offers insight into the human condition, but is limited by the 'bureaucracy' of exams.

I would not alter much to do with the National Curriculum other than the bureaucracy and the insistence on exams which don't really reflect English in its broadest sense. (Pre 23 – 25) I'd like to see the exam system dismantled, not dismantled is not the right word. Erm, there is a place for exams, but I think the last government went into exams too heavily, er coursework is a better reflection of what children do and 'I do not believe as an experienced teacher, I don't believe politicians, idiotic politicians who say that it can be done at home by a parent, because we can see immediately when a child's not done it, experienced teachers can, unfortunately politicians aren't experienced teachers. (Post 134)

He is typical in that he does not reject schooling, but satisfies himself with the belief that he has freedom of methodology. Barry thinks that studying Shakespeare is 'silly' whilst Gerry thinks that rejection of coursework is 'idiotic'. Barry still teaches a set when he would like to teach mixed ability classes, and he has to meet 'curriculum obligations'. And Gerry has to teach to exams. Yet both make comments about how they welcome the National Curriculum, because they think that it still allows them to use the methods of teaching that they prefer.

There are ways of resisting aspects of the curriculum that do not require a full assault upon it. Jenny describes how she manages to circumvent aspects of the assessment arrangements that she disapproves of:

Where I have got a problem is with the way it is assessed, and the way that the content is divided up to be assessed.... (Pre 63) *You feel some ownership of the English National Curriculum?* Oh, yeah, definitely. *Is that because it has been revised?*the broad principles that underlie it I definitely agree with. But not always the way it is used, implemented or interpreted. *Do you feel that you have got the scope to determine the methods of teaching?* I think that with the assessment arrangements that is getting more difficult. (Pre 76 – 84)....if you look at the higher tier question, and the foundation tier questions on last year's exam papers there is actually not a lot of difference between the two....the whole issue of tiering, that's not come from the exam boards, that has come from QCA....So the exam boards sort of worked around that....We make the tiering decision as late as possible. We make the decision after the mocks in Year 11. (Pre 97 – 102)

Jenny talks about the restriction of the assessment arrangements and how this is making it more difficult to determine methods of teaching, undermining further the claims of Gerry and Barry that methodology is the legitimate domain of teachers after the removal of decisions about curriculum content and assessment.

The strategy of leaving the tiering of pupils until as late as possible requires departmental agreement. Jenny is head of department and June explains here how they consider the department to be democratic, and how the ethos of the department was one of the reasons she took the job there.

Why are you in favour of mixed ability groups? One of the main reasons I would say, they do learn a lot from kids of different abilities, but one of the main things, I think, is to do with is morale in the classroom, and I think to put a group of low ability children all in one group is quite demoralising in itself. Really, the issue in English is a lot of students can respond on different levels. A lot of it is response based. So there is room for that in mixed ability. But I think the prime reason really would be to treating them equally and so on, and giving them a fair chance. Because no matter how much time you have to assess students you can be wrong about where they are at and they can surprise you. Not labelling them really. It must be quite demoralising to be labelled and put in the bottom set. And hard for them to move up from there. It can be quite defeatist really. *Is mixed ability how it happens here?* Yes it is . That is one of the things that attracted me to the post. The general atmosphere and the feel to the school. But that was part of that, somehow, for me when I applied for the post. (10 –32)

June thinks that classifying pupils is damaging to pupil morale. It labels them. This labelling affects teacher expectations and this has implications for teacher morale. Sandy, for example, has low expectations of her pupils, verging upon despair.

Millicent's teaching of Drama provides a further example of how assessment influences teaching styles.

I'd like to think of myself as encouraging towards the kids and enthusiastic myself, happy. But also they see me working hard especially in Drama cos they're constantly putting me in a fix and asking me questions that ... don't just require a yes or no answer, so, you can have the best lesson in the world planned and then I ask you something and you know, cos they're not always able to use their imagination, so they expect you to come up with the goods which, you know, I mean in small improvisation is not an obviously a huge examined piece but, if they, if they see me working hard and having sort of um and ah about something, hopefully they'll see that that's the way to go and that you know, things that I did don't come instantly. (Pre 201 – 202)

It is significant that Millicent wants to be seen considering issues that arise from a piece of work. She wants to be seen to 'um and ah', so that they know that this is 'the way to go', but 'not obviously in a huge examined piece'. There is little space for reflection in a system dependent upon outcomes. Millicent also wants pupils to see her being 'encouraging, enthusiastic' and 'happy'. This is a state that develops from commitment, fulfilment and high self-esteem. June talks of the importance of this. June and Jenny certainly appear to be in this situation, and Gerry and Roger certainly display contentment. As for Millicent, Barry, Mary and Sandy their dilemmas are significant enough to suggest that pupils might see low self-esteem and an overt battle against the consequences of mortification.

Fear of breakdown in pupil discipline

Teaching is a practical pursuit, and practical considerations often dominate intentions, particularly concerns over classroom management. Keeping the attention of large groups

of adolescents is not easy, and teachers are often primarily concerned with avoiding or pre-empting behavioural problems. The linkage between instrumental and intrinsic values is not used by English teachers simply because of esoteric concerns, but is used because it has the advantage of pre-empting discipline problems. June, at *Engirl*, recognises that pupils need to be involved in their work:

I would say that they are quite lively, but very enthusiastic. They have their moments but they are quite good at channelling their enthusiasm positively. It can go either way. But their enthusiasm is a positive thing so it can mean that you can take them somewhere different. They really need to be involved in what they are doing, otherwise they can get quite lively and chatty and a bit unfocussed. (Post 3 – 4)

June recognises that pupil behaviour can go 'either way', implying disengagement or engagement. In her observed lesson she used a poem on domestic violence to engage pupils. The issues in the poem led from the subject matter of a battered wife to discussion of the nature of domestic violence and the role of a 'dutiful daughter'. Clearly, some issues in English call out for engagement. However, where Sandy's pupils found *Macbeth* very difficult, and Barry thought it was silly to try to teach the bard to his pupils, Jenny was teaching the same play and assessing it with some success. Roger discusses the pedagogical implications of teaching pupils who are in a lower set.

How do other pupils in the higher sets view pupils in this set? They certainly regard them as being less academically able than they are. ...I'm sure they are, I'm sure they are treated differently.....I think that teachers feel themselves challenged by the classes that they have to teach, those lower sets. They are challenged because, ...,if we are going to get behavioural problems they tend to arise in those lower sets in Yrs 10 and 11. *How do you think that teachers respond to behavioural problems?* I think that they choose their work with care. I think that they would tackle work and set work that they think is going to reduce the behavioural problems and to adopt classroom management strategies that would reduce it as well. (Post 38 - 45)

Roger is convinced that his pupils are treated differently because they are the bottom set. His pedagogy is affected by the fact that there may be behavioural problems. The issue of control is ever present for Roger.

I'm doing things very much with them in mind and its like sitting on top of a powder keg. (Pre 134)

The work is chosen with care to reduce the scope for behavioural problems to ensure that the pupils are engaged and don't become distracted. There is a constant undercurrent, that there is likely to be a rejection of the teaching paradigm. Roger, Sandy and Millicent use formal rows, which provides greater teacher control, an arrangement found commonly in Science classrooms. The implication for this is that pupil dialogue is encouraged with the teacher, but is more difficult with each other. The teacher acts as a filter, allowing the teacher greater control over 'legitimate' discussion.

Pupil

Rejection of teaching paradigm

There is a subtle difference between a fear of breakdown in pupil discipline and rejection of the teaching paradigm. The former can occur as a result of discontent with individual teachers and a range of other matters related to purely individual circumstances. A rejection of the teaching paradigm is related to a culture, a network of behaviours, attitudes and values that are an alternative to the teaching exchange of Willis (1977). This rejection is of the value, intrinsic and instrumental, of education. Sandy's pupil data has already revealed rejection of the value of the subject, and further pupil data reflects opposition to teacher informant interpretation and application of respect, a rejection of the Schooling. This has generally taken the form of dissatisfaction with individual teacher management of social relations within the teaching paradigm, a paradigm reliant upon an exchange between pupil and teacher. The pupil offers control to the teacher in exchange for instrumental value derived from certification of legitimate knowledge. Roger's

comments from *Co-edcomp*, along with earlier pupil comments, reveal an alternative pupil value system that resists the teaching paradigm of exchange.

Is it easy to be a good pupil here, a successful pupil? Yeah, well, um. I don't think that it is easy to be a good pupil in any school. I think the, well speaking from limited experience really, but I think that the prevailing ethos in schools, certainly in this school, is the ethos of 'Oooh, swot' if you do any work. And that is a hellish hard thing to counteract if you are a pupil. The successful kids that I see, they go about it in a very surreptitious way. If you are open about your success then there are numerous voices prepared to, you know, to shout at you, to shout you down. (Post 76 - 77)

This culture, whereby pupils have to act surreptitiously about their 'success' is suggestive of an alternative paradigm. This alternative paradigm is not based on the status attached to the instrumental and intrinsic value of the dominant teaching paradigm. The dominant paradigm asks pupils to submit to teacher control in exchange for educational value (Willis 1979). The section on 'Informants and their pupils' reveals different perspectives on this exchange. One perspective is a deep dissatisfaction with the exchange of pupil control for value to be found in the English lessons of *Churchcomp*, and Sandy's lessons in *Boyscomp*. As will be seen later, this is less to do with the nature of English in classrooms, and more due to with the diffusion of an anti-schooling culture amongst pupils. This anti-schooling is partly motivated because they feel that there is little use value in their study, and think that their qualification in the subject will have little exchange value (Marx and Engels 1968).

Implications of dilemma position two: the demands of certification, classification and the legitimate curriculum undermine the link between intrinsic and instrumental values.

English informants were skilled at accommodating the negative impact of state/political interference by adopting strategies to alleviate the divisive nature of classification (such

as tiering as late as possible) and claiming that they were free to determine pedagogy. Informants feel pressured into adopting business terminology and associated attitudes that reflect a contrived consensus. This undermines the desire for more intimate relationships. A number of informants expressed a preference for mixed ability teaching in order to facilitate a more democratic and critical pedagogy, a pedagogy often reflected in seating arrangements. However, skewed abilities (particularly in *Boyscomp*) and perceptions of pupil motivation and their effect upon exam results meant that mixed ability teaching was only a reality in *Engirl*. There is a process of mortification at work through a constant, niggling battle between the intuitive values of the teacher and the intrusive characteristics of Schooling. Mortification is also beginning to emerge as an issue for some pupils in the lower sets, who reject the instrumental value of the subject because it offers little in the way of use or exchange value. This is a problem, particularly for Sandy's pupils; it will be shown in the next section that it is an even greater problem for Science, where intrinsic value is also denied.

Curiosity in Science

The issues that begin to emerge from the English informants are far more acute in Science. Low self esteem, and mortification is more apparent. Instrumental value is more distorted, with a heavier reliance upon classroom control, and a greater denial of use and exchange value.

Curiosity emerged early in the interviews with Betty at *Co-edcomp* (Pre 54 –56) and Susan at *Churchcomp* (Pre 43 – 54), where both talked about the value of curiosity and its role in their lessons. The nature of curiosity was then pursued with the other informants. Susan said:

I'd like to think that every lesson fosters some sort of curiosity. (Pre 54 –56)

Curiosity is taken to mean an inquisitiveness; an anxiety to learn. There is no specific mention of curiosity in the syllabus for Double Award Science (NEAB 1999a), but there is in the Science framework for 1997 (NEAB 1996) where one of the published aims is

to stimulate: curiosity, interest and enjoyment in Science and its methods of enquiry (p.4)

Science teachers talked with some regret about the ways in which the curriculum, assessment, and funding limited the possibilities of encouraging curiosity. The reality of curiosity in the Science classroom was epitomised by Dennis who explained that curiosity became explanation: the teacher explaining the nature of scientific enquiry rather than pupils following their natural curiosity through scientific enquiry.

The two dilemma positions, as with exploration in English, are largely derived from the two contexts of Schooling and Subject. The first position is located within Subject, and

recognises the potential of Science to foster curiosity (intrinsic value) and to relate to the practical experiences (instrumental value) of the pupils who study it.

The second dilemma position is largely located in the context of Schooling and reflects the accommodation of Science teachers to practice that is largely disruptive of the intrinsic and instrumental values of subject. Training in the ways of the scientist, an overcrowded curriculum, the teachers' desire for examination success and the difficulties associated with practical, investigative experiments leads to a form of instrumentalism where the act of 'doing' Science is justification in itself: a mechanical, repetitive form of instrumentalism that fails to engage teachers with the values of their subject.

It is worth at this point drawing attention to James' (1998) thesis that there is very limited integration of subject matter in Science. The informants pointedly refer to themselves as teachers of Physics, Biology and Chemistry, not as teachers of Science. This separation fits with the positivist separation of elements to be found reflected in the school curriculum and is further aggravated by the dominance of Double Science where three 'subjects' are taught separately in time allocated for 'one and three quarters'. This makes it difficult to respond to the interests of pupils and teachers, to the issue that 'catches the pupil's interest' as teaching is constrained by the barriers of subject classification (Bernstein 1975).

Dilemma position one: that recognises the potential of Science to foster curiosity and to relate this to practical experiences.

Analysis of this position reveals the intrinsic and instrumental values of the subject. The teachers acknowledge these but, unlike their English colleagues, they do not attempt to link in practice the curiosity of pupils with the subject. English informants actively work to make the link between the instrumental and the intrinsic. It is more of a fleeting recognition for Science informants, a distant memory of their own motivation for studying Science, an evocation of their own curiosity, now sublimated to the demands of certification and a legitimate curriculum, driven by the examination imperative that is disruptive of pupil learning.

Subject

Intrinsic value of the subject.

Susan at *Churchcomp* (Pre 43 – 54) talked of her desire for every lesson to foster curiosity. Dennis at *Co-edcomp* also talks of how his curiosity about things led him to study Science

Enquiry, curiosity comes up a lot in these conversations, do you think that pupils are able to satisfy their curiosity? I think that is one of the reasons I went into science. I was always curious about why things happen. If I have seen something happen I have always thought about 'why does that happen?' and that is one of the reasons that I went into science. I think that pupils are curious and I think that comes into it. And the way that it is taught here allows them to express that curiosity? In the main yes, most of the time. (Pre 15 – 30)

Dennis is curious, and so are pupils, and he states here that he thinks that the way Science is taught allows pupils to pursue that curiosity. However, Dennis later on (Post 58 – 63) claims that it can't be because of 'class size and so on'. This is fully explored in Dilemma

position two: Schooling; State/political interests. The tension evident in Dennis is resolved by an accommodation (Woods 1979) of the problem generated by school Science. Dennis, when asked if the lesson that had just been observed involved any values replied 'values, no, not really. It was pure science. It was purely a Science lesson.' (Post 1 – 27) Dennis draws upon the positivist construct of Science (Layton 1986, Giroux 1997) in an attempt to square the circle.

Betty at *Co-edcomp* reveals a more normative interpretation of Science.

What particular values do you think that Science offers to youngsters? Curiosity, in some circumstances, depending on how you tackle the experiment, even creativity. (Pre 54 – 56) Well, you inevitably do put across values: particularly when you are teaching Biology. One of the things that you do try and put across is respect for life, in general.....respect for all living things. (Pre 58 – 69)

Science for Betty is not value free. Or, at least it shouldn't be. Betty argues that it is inevitable that values are transmitted through subject teaching, particularly through Biology, where respect for living things, amongst other values of lifestyle (not smoking for example) are promoted. As with Dennis the practice is often somewhat different and this too is explored later. Indeed the data in this section is reminiscent of how Science ought to be, rather than how it is practised in school.

Keith at *Churchcomp* was no exception.

What values does Science offer? It gives reason and explanation to the world. It helps pupils understand what is going on. In Biology it helps them understand what is going on inside them. If they go to the doctor they say 'doctor, doctor I've got a pain here.' Well, what is there? It gives reason, explanation; it helps them enquire. (Pre 50 -54)

Keith talks in the same terms about the nature of Science values as his English counterparts. Using curiosity he moves from the instrumental need to understand their own bodies to the intrinsic values of reason and explanation. Farouk at *Scigirl* argues strongly that Science is now a very different subject from what it once was.

Science now has a totally different approach. *What is this different approach now?* It is the investigative approach, discover for yourself, learn by doing things....And it is more appealing because it is more related to everyday life nowadays. Rather than just learning theories and so on.... (Pre 88 – 119)

Relating Science to everyday life, the rhetoric of investigation and discovery, is used to create a picture of Science that is inclusive of pupils and is more appealing because of it, a picture that is reinforced by Gordon at *Boyscomp*:

We want them....not to say that this is the answer, but that you can do an experiment to find out for yourself, and your experiment is just as valid as anybody else's. (Pre 45 – 86)

These reflections upon the nature of the intrinsic values of Science suggest the subject is innovative, in direct contradiction to Aronowitz and Giroux (1997) and the Wellcome Trust (2000). According to these accounts the subject has the potential to be inclusive, investigative, constructivist, fostering curiosity and creativity. It is the argument of this thesis that this is a reflection of how the informants would like Science to be, rather than what is practised. This argument it developed through consideration of the instrumental values of Science.

Instrumental value of the subject

The instrumental value of Science ranges from preparation to be a scientist, through an understanding of the practical application of science and resulting issues to the body, the home, work, and the environment to its role in the development of language and social skills. Gordon at *Boyscomp* wants his pupils to develop study skills.

They are working through some worksheets that we have used, which I am hoping is encouraging them to find out things for themselves, rather than just be told information. Using these worksheets to guide them through it.. but also trying to encourage them to find it for themselves using information sources. So, in a way I am hoping that we are teaching them how to learn things for themselves....(Pre 164 – 7)

The key word here is 'hoping'. Gordon hopes that his pupils will pick up the study skills of research through his worksheet approach to the subject. This is an instrumental aim of his lessons - aims are often indistinguishable from values (Dewey 1966). It is a form of guided discovery. However, the instrumental nature of the activity is not necessarily related to the science as such. Derek also at *Boyscomp* develops this theme.

For some probably, they never will appreciate any value. They will never appreciate that Science is impinging on their everyday life either directly or indirectly. (Pre 86) I'm not particularly sure that on that day that they actually learnt any science.... I was quite happy for them to have, almost a bit of a play at the experiment.... They also would have learnt how to handle some of the more common equipment, and it was quite apparent that they had not had enough experience of setting up basic stands and clamps. (Post 46 – 50)

The instrumentality of this science lay in the pupils' ability to develop their skills in 'playing' with equipment, to develop their dexterity in assembling 'basic stands and clamps'. For what purpose? The pupils at *Boyscomp* in this research are estranged from schooling. In Gordon's lesson pupils from other lessons plant themselves in his classes in order to be disruptive (Pupil 48 – 76). In Derek's lesson a high proportion of pupils absent themselves from the Friday lesson (Pupil 131 – 145). Both sets of pupils explain that boredom is an important factor, boredom and a lack of purpose to their schoolwork. Derek and Gordon's instrumentality has more to do with classroom control, keeping the pupils focused 'on task' virtually any task as long as it can be justified in terms of developing 'skills'.

Keith at *Churchcomp*, who teaches a 'middle ability' set, also picks up on the instrumental value of Science in the world of work: 'it's what is required for employment.' (Pre 50-54)

There is an inference in this data that the instrumental value of Science lay in its vocational application, and that also helps to explain the nature of the pupils' own bodies

and domestic lives. Farouk at *Scigirl* talks about the link between the instrumental and the intrinsic.

Physics is part of so many careers. Say for example engineering, medicine, teaching, any sciences, anybody who wants to be a scientist, Physics is a very, very good background for them, or education, medicine and so on. The application in everyday life say for example wiring a plug and how systems work inside the house, how the car works. It is everything around us. I think it gives them the self-satisfaction that they know these things. (Pre 134 – 145)

Talking of future careers, and the application of Science to everyday life he can see how this will give self-satisfaction to know these things. Farouk teaches a 'middle set', often a euphemism for a lower ability set. He also taught a group of girls who clearly fail to connect to the purposes that Farouk describes (See Chapter Seven).

Implications of Dilemma position one: that recognises the potential of Science to foster curiosity and to relate this to practical experiences .

There is a cynicism penetrating the informants' data that suggests that the use of instrumental values to link, through curiosity, to intrinsic values is more of an ideal than a realisation (Marcuse 1972). There is a desire on the part of teachers to make the link between vocational, personal and domestic application to the values of reason, explanation, investigation, discovery, and creativity through curiosity. The informants accommodate (Woods 1979) the denial of this link by drawing upon a positivistic view of Science (James 1998) which mortifies values and reduces the experience to issues of classroom control and the examination imperative, ideas further developed in the next dilemma position.

Dilemma position two: reflecting the accommodation of Science informants to practice largely disruptive of intrinsic and instrumental values of the subject, leading to implementation of a distorted form of instrumentalism.

This position shows how Science informants are faced with disruption to learning brought about by an overcrowded curriculum that has not changed in response to recent developments in science, the demands of assessment, and difficulties associated with practical, investigative experiments. This leads to a form of instrumentalism in the informants' practice that is devoid of intrinsic aims, an instrumentalism that does not engage informants, or their pupils.

Schooling

Serves state/political interests

The section on Exploration in English developed the characteristic of state/political interests as the allocation of cultural capital in the form of legitimate knowledge, that is 'sold on' for employment or access to higher education in a process of commodification.

Derek at *Boyscomp* talks of how this legitimate knowledge limits engagement.

The content of the Science is set by an exam board. In terms of what we teach, or how we teach, we have a certain amount of width there. One part of me would say it is a bad thing because it stifled more extensive creativity, because we can't really go off at a tangent, and really explore. (Post 80 – 88) in Science argument is a very essential part (Post 51 – 52)... time for discussion is rarely available due to the problem of trying to complete the syllabus (RM3) Sometimes you can see that there is an element of disinterest in the subject. That doesn't cause me any problems, because I think that we all had subjects that we are less interested in than others. (Post 6 – 11)

The rush to complete the syllabus squeezes out discussion, exploration, and creativity.

Derek acknowledges how important argument is to Science, and yet this is not possible in the school subject. He sees that there is an 'element of disinterest' in the subject, but this,

again, does not concern him. He doesn't think that stripping Science of discussion, exploration and creativity contributes to this lack of interest. He accommodates this lack of interest by attributing it to the nature of children, that they are going to be more interested in some subjects than others. Dennis at *Co-edcomp* thinks about reasons why some pupils may be uninterested.

Science has moved on quite a lot but they seem to be sort of stuck in the mud,...We teach the blast furnace which is about the manufacture of iron and steel. I think that there is only one blast furnace left in the UK. It is just not relevant to today really..... and it is just staying that way. It has never evolved, it just stays where it is...Chemistry just seems very academic and very staid. (Pre 15 – 30) All my time is for delivering the written curriculum. (RM3) *What sort of questions can they ask you when they are doing Science?* They don't usually which is quite off putting. They tend to take what you say for granted.... *Is curiosity and exploration a reality in science?* It can be...but in reality you can't because of your class size and so on. It is not their curiosity as such. I suppose it is me telling them how to find something out. (Post 58 – 63)

Much of the syllabus is 'staid' and out of date. It has failed to develop with the changes in society and therefore appears less relevant to pupils. Dennis teaches Chemistry to a 'top set' and his lessons are very fast paced. He says that there is no time beyond delivery of the written curriculum, and that class size limits the attention that can be given to pupil interests. Pupils do not ask questions, they simply take 'what you say for granted' which indicates that their curiosity is not fostered in the way that Susan (below) would like. Indeed, Dennis admits that because of restrictions it is not 'their curiosity as such' as him 'telling them how to find something out'. Curiosity is turned into explanation.

Keith, at *Churchcomp*, still hopes pupils can be engaged in the syllabus, and yet, as was shown in 'respect in practice', Keith's lessons are dominated by the syllabus to the extent that they check the syllabus 'every few minutes' to make sure that they are on track (Post 28 – 29). This curriculum is imposed on teacher and pupil alike, yet he wants pupils to take 'ownership' of their work. It has to be said, that this is, like Gordon, more in hope

than expectation. Susan at *Churchcomp* supports Dennis's assertion that curiosity is not a reality:

Given the NEAB syllabus that you teach here, does it help to foster curiosity? Not really, no. This is the problem see. In an ideal world that would be the way that I would like to go. but just the sheer amount that is in the syllabus, means that every now and again you have to say, notes, or you know, here's a list of questions, do them. Just to get the ideas across in time for the exam or in time for end of year 10, or to get them a certain piece of coursework. I think it is a shame, because certainly from a Chemistry point of view, the information on the syllabus It is very dry. I very much like to do practical work with the kids. But certainly Chemistry syllabus doesn't allow that. The Physics does to a certain extent. But Physics, by its nature is quite mathematical anyway. (Pre 43 – 47)

Susan says that the Chemistry syllabus is dry and does not encourage practical science; that the mathematical nature of school physics also discourages practical work and this makes the fostering of curiosity difficult. Farouk at *Scigirl* gives another reason why the subject does not engage pupils:

Science teachers often leave values with pupils unexplored, because they are not sure that it is a legitimate concern of Science. This might be true, it might be that this is one of the reasons that people are put off Science. Science is still being treated as being owned by Scientists. (RM3)

Pupils are not encouraged to engage with the subject because it is not theirs to engage with. If it belongs to scientists does it belong to teachers? The first dilemma position shows how these informants do want to engage with their subject but in this dilemma position we see how they are consistently denied that opportunity. The first dilemma position suggested that Science should be inclusive, creative and fostering of curiosity. The legitimate curriculum is a dead hand on these values. Not only does the state sponsored curriculum close down interest and exclude pupils, but it actually disrupts their learning, as will be demonstrated later.

Strategic action

Derek at *Boyscomp* acknowledges that the excitement and spontaneity of his lessons is threatened by the repetitive nature of the legitimate curriculum

If it's my demonstration and there's a risk of it going wrong, I often warn them in advance. I've even found myself, 'do you know this has never worked?' or I've even said in the past, 'I've never done this experiment before', which is I suppose wrong because I'm actually lying. (Pre 59 – 82)

When there is a possibility of it going 'wrong' then he prepares them for it by telling them that it has never worked, suggesting that there is some difficulty in lessons not going to 'plan'. In order to inject some element of surprise he tells pupils that he has never done some experiments before when he has, many times, an example of strategic action (Habermas 1981). He is not comfortable with being driven to this manipulation of pupil expectations, manipulation that must have a price in terms of curiosity. Pupils recognise manipulation. Indeed when we look at Farouk's pupils in the next section they express a weary awareness of the safe, repetitive nature of experimentation in Science.

Disruptive of pupil learning

The drive for classifying pupils is disruptive of pupil learning. Many of the quotes in this section could have been included in the drive for the classification of pupils. However they have been included here because they highlight just how disruptive of pupil learning the assessment system is at this age. Teachers and pupils alike are prevented from pursuing lines of enquiry that interest and motivate them. Susan at *Churchcomp* describes what learning would look like if the fostering of curiosity were to be taken seriously.

They need to go away and look up in textbooks about the theory behind it, with as little help from me as possible. However, that would take 3 to 4 weeks, possibly more, and we find that we are doing it in two weeks maximum. Simply because there are exams coming up and there is theory to be got through, and so. here again it is taking away from the curiosity side of it. But it seems a shame to me that coursework is centred around finding things out for themselves, and yet the rest of the syllabus does not let them do that. (Pre 43 – 74)

Twenty five percent of the syllabus is coursework, and yet Susan claims that there is little scope within the rest of the syllabus to support this. The assessment system places restrictions upon what can be achieved, and upon teaching and learning styles. What

should take four weeks has to be crammed into two. Instead of pupils following their interests and unearthing theoretical underpinnings the teacher has to make sure that the theory has 'got through'. In these circumstances we see the continued erosion of curiosity and its replacement with explanation. Explanation forces the teacher down the path of exposition and transmission, rather than engagement. Betty, at *Co-edcomp*, is herself alienated from the values of the syllabus (also Pre 84 – 95).

Values such as curiosity cannot be explored because of restrictions with time and equipment. (RM3) I don't think that we have the time that we used to have to go off at little tangents, sometimes when something particularly catches the children's interest....producing examination results has meant that you really don't have the time to do that now. Constantly meeting deadlines as to where you have got to be in that syllabus by that stage in the year. (Pre 58 – 59) You don't have the time. Sometimes they raise a quite valid point of something else that would be interesting to investigate....and you say 'right, I'm sorry, but you are going to have to stop. Then you have to cut it off (Post 43 – 52)

The syllabus becomes an object that has to be delivered. There is little room for her intervention and exploration, or her students'. The syllabus and, more powerfully, the requirements of assessment mean that pupils and teachers cannot pursue issues that 'catches the pupils' interest'. 'Valid' points are ignored, and curiosity is cut off. In Science, the focus of the lessons is on scientific method, learning to be a scientist: planning for collecting, obtaining, and presenting evidence, considering and evaluating it, rather than exploring scientific ideas, controversies, contexts and limitations. Even more extreme were the two Science teachers at *Engirl* who declined to take part in the research because they saw no connection whatever between teaching Science and teaching values. Dennis at *Co-ed* paints a prosaic picture of the nature of curiosity:

... (to) be honest with you it is up to them to find out what they don't know....I teach 300 kids a week and there always going to be one or two who are confused. (Post 1 – 27) *Is curiosity and exploration a reality in Science?* It can be..... in reality you can't because of your class size and so on. But, we might say 'we are going to investigate how this affects this,' and they will do an experiment, and at the end of it I will say 'right, what have you found out about from your results? How does this affect this?' It is not their curiosity as such. I suppose it is me telling them how to find something out.(Post 58 – 63)

In this quote Dennis is following through in his own mind the procedure of his lessons, as if giving it thought for the first time. His conclusion surprises him. His lessons are not so

much about pupil curiosity as teacher explanation. It is evident in this section on curiosity that creativity, inclusion and discovery, far from being embedded in practice are in fact removed from it. The procedures followed in lessons are about explanation in order to pass exams, and compliance with these procedures requires disengagement by both teachers and pupils alike. Dennis teaches 300 pupils. He accepts that some will always be confused. He does not engage with them in a process of discovery; it is up to them to find out what they do not know.

Derek at *Boyscomp* hints at his own disengagement when he talks of the 'abject tedium of bookwork' for pupils.

What's the purpose of experiments for the kids from this point of view? I suppose one thing it dilutes the abject tedium of just bookwork. (Pre 59 – 82) Currently time for discussion is rarely available due to the problem of trying to complete the syllabus... (RM3.) If you could think of an ideal way of teaching Science, what would it be like? You know, an extremely well equipped but not ostentatious laboratory where I haven't got to think about dividing equipment which is only suitable for eight people ... where there is back-up equipment, where I've got laboratory assistance....Where if they notice something we can make time either for them as a small group or as class to say, right there's the National Curriculum, we're going to investigate this. You see ... there's nothing really, GCSE, there's nothing really new in Science....but we can make it feel new. (Pre 59 – 82)

Curiosity is prevented, not by cognitive factors but by matters of resource. There is not enough time, equipment and laboratory assistance for learning based upon curiosity to take place. Practical lessons serve the purpose of breaking up the tedium of bookwork. It has been shown how strategic action is used to make the repetitive and tired seem 'new'. Experiments in these circumstances are not devised so much to find out, as to relieve tedium. Farouk at *Scigirl* makes similar points about resources.

There are a number of restrictions: the syllabus; the depth of the things they have to learn. I could possibly connect electromagnetism to the planets, but it would need so much effort and time to get things ready.... It is possible but it would be so difficult to find things and resources..... motivation depends upon the way you teach, the way you present it, how long time you get. ... *could be organised differently so that the motivation could be increased?* the syllabus now as it stands, no....I need CD roms, computers, access to the internet, but these are not available. I need magazines, plenty of books, to have in the lesson, or take them into the library. I need a couple of lessons each week for a couple of weeks. After this we need access to the library, to outside school and so on. (Post 48 – 60)

Time, paper, electronic resources, and effort are all required, and given the demands upon these informants there does not appear to be sufficient of any of these resources to allow teachers to engage pupils in the intrinsic values of Science. Of course, means and desire are not the only factors that teachers require, they need pupils to have the motivation to take part, and Gordon and Farouk sometimes have doubts about taking the risk.

Fear of pupil behaviour

Gordon at *Boyscomp* teaches a 'top set' but his classes are disrupted by his pupils, and by pupils from other classes coming into his lessons deliberately to disrupt them. Fear of pupil misbehaviour whilst carrying out experiments using equipment in circumstances that are difficult to control are not the only concerns. Gordon also feels that he is isolated from other teachers in the sense that there is little in the way of exchange of ideas about what works with these difficult children and what does not.

I don't think that we have enough time for consultation with colleagues. Generally, just if you had a bit of time to talk about what is available. And OK you can stay there on your own looking through filing cabinets and familiarise yourself with your materials. But still you want to ask people what has worked and what approaches, what experiments have worked best. Some experiments people might not do because they've found it is dangerous. Kids tend to do silly things. So that is important. (Pre 151 – 152)

In Science, at *Boyscomp*, a supportive culture that would help teachers take some of these risks is lacking. Dennis at *Co-edcomp* said that he too felt isolated (Pre 95, Post 133), and that teachers were quick to criticise the failings of pupils and teachers (Post 135 – 159). Trying out experiments with pupils who may not have the motivation or personal and social skills to participate responsibly, in a culture of teacher isolation, would appear an unnecessary risk to take. When teachers have to contend with a crowded curriculum and lack of resources, lack of teacher advice and support must make the situation even worse.

Farouk at *Scigirl* also feels he is restricted in the experiments he can conduct because of the behaviour of some of his pupils.

I didn't want to take them out because I was concerned about the behaviour of some of them. They were running outside so they might injure themselves from being silly.... I think I go back to how they have been brought up. If they are brought up on discipline and looking forward to the future and doing well, then they will do well in academic work. If they are brought up on an attitude of not caring, not caring about the future, no attention to their education.... (Post 24 – 31)

Farouk has the same concerns as Gordon. Interestingly, apart from gender, the behaviour of Farouk and Gordon's pupils has a parallel: both sets of pupils condoned disruptive behaviour, even though Gordon's was a top set and Farouk's was a middle set. Both teachers were worried that if they tried to engage pupils in more interesting experiments this would allow pupils to be even more disruptive and both teachers took the safer option. In the case of Farouk the safer option was demonstration, and with Gordon it was work sheets.

Classification of pupils

It has already been explained that much of the data used in the section on the disruption of pupil learning could have been used in this section. The quote from Keith at *Churchcomp* is used to illustrate how the desire to classify pupils affects the teachers' working environment.

With streaming you get a sink, and an elitist mentality. 'Oh, we're the rubbish. We can't do it.' It's a self-fulfilling prophecy. They see themselves as the lowest of the low and they work to that level. In the totally streamed situation, if you are in set one you can fulfil your potential. If you are near the top of a set you might be able to fulfil your potential with a dream, an aim of escaping into the land of plenty elsewhere. If you are in the middle of a set I don't think that they do achieve their potential. I think they see themselves further down the list, they think 'No chance.' (Pre 42-47)

Keith explains how pupils are de-motivated by a strict application of streaming. He talks of dreaming of escape for the top set to a land of plenty, whereas the pupils further down

the list see themselves as the lowest of the low. Keith does not talk of this as a challenge for teachers, so that they can try and change these perceptions around, there is a resignation and world weariness, an implication that if only things were different.....

Subject

Instrumental values of subject.

One reason for the lack of engagement of pupils in the values of Science is put forward by Susan at *Churchcomp*. She argues that the majority of pupils have to put up with an inappropriate curriculum for the benefit of the few that want to go on and study Science at 'A' level and beyond.

The double science award has got to cater for everyone, right up to those who want to do 'A' level. So I think they have thought 'everyone has got to do it, so we have got to cater for the cleverest'. Which is a problem, because the one's who are slightly weaker, or who simply want to get a Science grade and then leave it and do something else are having to go through the same theory as the top set. (Pre 43 – 74)

Susan is concerned that the syllabus is aimed at future scientists, which is inappropriate for most pupils. Science has a purpose that is practical for those who may take advantage of its skills in the future, but has little purpose for those who are not going to do this. Susan thinks that this form of instrumentalism fails to engage classes that she has to teach (Cassidy 2003). Susan is perhaps not so much accommodating this problem with the Science curriculum, as resigning herself to it.

Implications of dilemma position two: reflecting the accommodation of Science informants to practice largely disruptive of intrinsic and instrumental values of the subject, leading to a distorted form of instrumentalism.

Students have the power to opt out from learning and this has the unfortunate effect of reinforcing the Science teachers' reliance upon a distorted form of instrumental value: slavish following of scientific procedure with limited resources, and writing up experiments demonstrated by the teacher. Intrinsic value is ignored as too time consuming and risky. The only value of this is to the teacher, who retains control of the classroom. Classrooms encompass a complex web of power relationships in which students have considerable control over the extent and nature of their learning. When students are 'difficult' or 'disruptive', and this is compounded by poor facilities, an overcrowded curriculum and disruptive assessment procedures, this directly reinforces a Science teacher's reliance upon a distorted form of instrumental value: instrumental value of an activity being its ability to minimise pupil disruption. Pursuing intrinsic values increased the number of unknowns, so that there was an increased chance of disruption, and teachers wished to avoid this. This limits opportunities to encourage students to explore, or engage their curiosity. Curiosity in these circumstances becomes teacher explanation. Consequently, the pedagogy lacks intrinsic value and is tinged with teacher boredom, frustration and lack of engagement. Rather than instrumental values leading onto intrinsic value they remained a purpose in themselves, but without the compensation of a 'good' grade. In this situation they were activities without instrumental or intrinsic aims.

Summary of the issues to emerge from stage one and the dilemma analysis of stage two.

Stage one analysis established that there are four contexts of teacher values: Self, Schooling, Subject, and Pupils. It drew attention to the QCA's omission of the values of Subject and Pupils and to the way in which teachers drew upon the values contexts to interpret values in different ways.

Through dilemma analysis, in stage two, the values of respect, teacher, exploration, and curiosity are interrogated using the values contexts and their characteristics as heuristic devices. From this a number of issues emerge. Three of the more significant issues are the denial of intrinsic value, the creation of a distorted form of instrumental value, particularly in Science, and the mortification of teachers.

A fourth finding is that of a correspondence of teacher and pupil experience, where the results of the denial of intrinsic value, the distortion of instrumental value, and the mortification of the substantial selves of pupils and teachers leaves both with a tendency to disengage from the classroom. There is a desire on the part of both for a more meaningful classroom experience in terms of instrumental and intrinsic value. These findings are further explored in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight.

Chapter Seven

Informants and their pupils

Purpose of this chapter

This chapter uses the pupil data to review the dilemma positions of the teacher informants derived from values of respect, teacher, exploration and curiosity. The review provides further insight into the process of mortification, the denial of intrinsic value, and the distortion of instrumental value. Chapters Five and Six, on the four research values, show how the relationships between teacher and pupil are soured by some of the demands of schooling. The influence of schooling pushes deep into the classroom, despite the efforts of individual teachers to mitigate its influence. This is found particularly in *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp*. *Engirl* on the other hand shows how pedagogy can be allowed to flourish that does not mortify the Self to the same degree as at *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp*. The English classes at *Engirl* and *Co-edcomp*, in particular, provide evidence of success in linking the intrinsic with the instrumental that leads to a degree of serenity in teacher and classroom social relations. In *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp* the relations are more abrasive, with evidence of resentment between and amongst teachers and pupils. Finally, the review of pupil informants at *Scigirl* summarises the correspondence between the experiences of teacher and pupil: the joint denial of the exploration of intrinsic and instrumental value, and the joint mortification of Self that is evident to a lesser and greater extent in *Boyscomp*, *Churchcomp* and *Co-edcomp*.

Engirl

Data from *Engirl* illustrates how pedagogy can flourish that does not lead to mortification. These two English classrooms show how instrumental values can be successfully linked to intrinsic values.

English

June

June supported an engagement image of the teacher, trusting pupils and teachers and treating both sensitively. Her classroom was organised by mixed ability and her classroom seating was based upon groups of four facing pupils. There was no dissonance between desired and practised respect. She was comfortable with her role as a teacher, and shared the same ethos with the rest of the department, indeed that was an important reason she took the job. The atmosphere in June's mixed ability classroom was relaxed. Her pupils felt confident and involved in the lesson.

How did you feel in that lesson? I felt confident talking in front of everyone. *Do you ever have lessons that you like but don't like the teachers?* P1 No P2 No P3 All the lessons that I like I like the teachers that I work with. *What makes learning difficult?* When the teacher is going on about something and you don't understand it, and you keep quiet and you don't ask her what is going on. Some teachers just get angry if you ask them. They say why didn't you listen the first time. *Do you get the chance to say what you really think in these lessons?* Yes. That is what it is all about in English. It is good in groups. And she goes round and asks our opinion and everything. That is what I like about it. P1Everybody takes part in it. (56 – 70)

For pupil three it is important that she likes the teacher, and she feels involved with June and the rest of the class. June asks everyone's opinion, and the pupil is not afraid of asking for help if she does not understand. Other informants, with nods of the head and other positive body language, agreed with her. The girls enjoyed the exchange of views that were encouraged in June's lessons. June thought pupils of high and low ability helped each other, and that it must be demoralising for pupils to be labelled. She enjoyed

the opportunity to engage in discovery through poetry prescribed for GCSE. Although she would have liked to use other texts that were more appropriate as they weren't on the prescribed list she couldn't. June recognised that engagement wasn't just a matter of good educational achievement and intrinsic exploration; it was also a matter of good classroom management. If pupils weren't engaged then they could be quite 'lively'. Her pupils provide evidence of her ability to engage them in the intrinsic and instrumental values (June; Pupils 13 – 16; 25 - 57).

Jenny

Jenny also supported the engagement image and wanted there to be a mutual approach to respect, built upon trust and valuing other people's opinions and differences. Her classroom was organised by mixed ability, which was her preference. The day of her lesson observation was an assessment day for GCSE and the seating was arranged in a large circle so that all pupils could watch their classmates act out assessed pieces of work. This arrangement allowed for everyone to have eye contact. Her pupils described her as 'friendly', and they valued the fact that she asked their opinions. Her pupils did not mention conflict with school ethos. She saw herself as a role model for pupil behaviour. This was born out by her pupils who would like to be 'friendly' like her.

What sort of person do you think Ms W. would like you to grow up to be? A friendly and kind person because she is like that now. P Helpful, she likes to help you out when you are stuck with things. P She gets along with us all and she is nice, and she is supportive of people who do not understand the work as much. So, she would like us to be like helpful. (92 –95) ...P It also helps like if you like the teacher and you like to be in that lesson, because the teacher is nice to you. Sometimes if the teacher is not nice then you say that you do not like the lesson when you really like it. P But she makes us feel comfortable in the lesson. So, it makes it easier and you can enjoy it as well. How does she make you feel comfortable? She is calm. She doesn't shout. She doesn't give you a whole list of work to do and then leave you. P She helps try to improve it. She encourages you. (119 – 123)

Friendship is yearned for by pupils in their relationships, and by teachers (for example, Barry, Susan, and Keith at *Churchcomp*) yet is denied by the asymmetrical relationships of pupils and teachers in the other schools in the sample. Roger, at *Co-edcomp*, and Mary at *Boyscomp* come closest to developing this sort of relationship in their English classes. But, for most informants it is striped away from the day to day relationships. Pupils were used to treating each other with respect in *Engirl*. Jenny made pupils feel comfortable. She was 'calm', and 'doesn't shout', and didn't just give pupils 'a whole list of work to do, and then leave you'. Again, there is not a hint of disaffection with the practices of the school and her pupils supported the view that she was able to link the instrumental with the intrinsic values of the subject (Jenny; Pupils 2 – 19; 39 – 52; 108 – 118).

Boyscomp

Data from *Boyscomp* shows how the influence of Schooling pushes deep into the classroom, leading to mortification of teacher and pupil informants. Relationships are abrasive and resentful amongst and between teachers and pupils.

English

Mary

Respect is about feeling comfortable with each other, based upon the engagement image derived from Self. Mary wants to be viewed as a whole person, and not as a teacher. Again, there are suggestions of more natural relationships with pupils. She wants pupils to be able to talk openly with her. She wants education to be about critical awareness of opinions. She thinks that schools do not encourage this. She does not like teachers, as

they are defensive and like power too much. She particularly rejects the idea of new professionalism. Although Mary arranged her seating in a conference horseshoe to discourage passivity, and she talked about mixed ability teaching as an ideal, she implemented a setting system which labelled pupils. It can be seen with Sandy (who taught a lower set) that this de-motivated some pupils (Mary; Pupils 26 - 31). Mary focused on teaching her pupils but she was very aware of the tensions created by schooling and those who managed it. Mary's pupils endorsed the engagement image.

There was an open discussion so we were able to discuss our opinion. It is good for us because we know that teachers are willing to listen to what we have to say ... *How would you like things to be done in English?* More open feelings about each other, and telling the teacher about our opinions on the work we did in the lessons, and the teacher giving her opinion on how we behaved in the lessons. *Is that what you have just had?* Yes of course, we because we express our feelings in the lesson. *What was the teacher like in the lesson?* Friendly, open feelings (18 – 23)

They felt that they could communicate meaningfully with her, and that she valued their contributions. Significantly, pupils also considered her to be friendly, a quality that causes concern for some informants. Her pupils could express their feelings and this was carried into their English work where she was able to link the instrumental of examination success to the intrinsic of individual perception and self worth (Mary; Pupils 24 - 26). Recognition of the value of individual perception is important in the negative context of a legitimate state knowledge that invalidates pupil knowledge.

Sandy

Sandy's data brings many of the issues arising from this study into sharp relief. Sandy's students are in a lower ability group and struggle to reach GCSE standard and her classroom is organised in formal rows. Sandy wanted respect based upon authoritarian characteristics. Pupils should be deferential because of her subject knowledge. Sandy felt antagonism towards the management of the school and those who imposed an

inappropriate school curriculum. She reflected Sachs and Smiths' (1988) teacher problematic but her perspective was from an amalgam of the cultural heritage/adult need views of Snow (1991) rather than Mary's pragmatic/liberal pedagogy. Sandy feared breakdown in pupil discipline (Bernstein 1975; Lortie 1975; Woods 1979). But she recognised that bad school rules lead to disruption of learning. Her preference for contemplation and enjoyment was at odds with the dominant imperative of schooling: examination success. Sandy's pupils create an impression of compliance in the interview, and yet a chance encounter at a bus stop later in the day reveals pupil disengagement and disrespect for the school.

Do you think that Sandy is ambitious? P1 What do you want me to say? (88 – 91) On the wall over there it says 'English dept. we're simply the best. (129 -130) Does it include you? Yeah. What makes you think it includes you? Because we are going to do it. P1 The school in general. Every pupil, every teacher. Everyone, they are simply the best. What does it mean, the best? P1 The best equipment. The best supplier of books and stuff. The best teachers. And the best pupils. The best, that sounds a bit ambitious to me, P4 Yeah. It means the top. Does it mean that there are people below? P4 Yeah. Who is below? P1 All other schools. (Laughter) (139 - 151)

The researcher is standing at the bus stop at the end of school and Pupil 1 approaches. P1 Are you a teacher? *Researcher:* No. P1 What do you think to school? *Researcher:* Good. P1 You don't have to pretend now, we are not in school. Do you think I did well? Do you want to know what I really think? School's rubbish.

There is a clear contradiction in the way that Sandy's pupils respond to questioning in the classroom and the approach of pupil 1 to the researcher at the bus stop after school. In school the responses are all positive, in the sense that the answers are of the type that the pupils think that a teacher would expect to hear. Once outside the school Pupil 1 is more assertive, approaching the researcher and initiating the conversation. He is keen to offer his views on the school. He is outspoken in his condemnation and once he determines that the researcher is not a teacher his guard drops. The arrival of the bus curtails the conversation, but the pupil has made a very significant point: in school this pupil performs a role that is shaped by what he considers to be teacher expectations. He offers

other information on the bus that I am not able to record until much later: that he wishes to join the army, and that a good reference is important to him. But he offers no further explanation of his condemnation of the school, and circumstances make such questioning inappropriate. Sandy's pupils are deferential within school because of the power that the teachers hold: the power of certification and references. But deference should not be confused with respect.

Some people were making silly noises and just being a bit daft. Why do you think people do that sort of thing? P1 Because they are immature, attention seeking. P4 They don't find any interest in it P1 Because I think they are a bit stupid. P2 They want to make their friends laugh as well, and join in. P1 Attention seeking (26 – 34)

Sandy says that they are a 'low ability group who cannot understand why they can't do GCSE' (Post 15). The antics of some of the pupils are confrontational and she feels that this behaviour prevents other pupils from learning (Post 1 – 7, 10 – 13, 23 – 27). We have seen that Sandy's pupils are quite capable of playing the system. But, in the day to day process of schooling the pupils have other concerns. One is to make other pupils laugh, as this raises their status amongst their peers. This frustrates Sandy, who sees that education is one route out of the deprivation that she sees lying in wait for them. She recognises that they have a 'pecking order' and that their standing in it is important to them. The difficulty Sandy has in convincing pupils of the worth of this pre-GCSE certificate reinforces the view that pupil status amongst their peers is more important to them than behaviour that Sandy considers respectful. (Post 14 – 17). One of the reasons for this is that her pupils think that they have little influence over the day to day practices that they are subjected to.

When you are in 'Sandy's' lessons and things are getting a bit boring and you are getting a bit fed up, do you get a chance to say, 'look can we change this a bit?' P4 No. P1 We never ask, Why don't people ask? P2 They're shy. P2 Because when the teachers start shouting at them when they say summat. P1 They are afraid that people will laugh at them. Or, the teacher might complain. P2 They may get chucked out of the class. (167 – 181)

The pupils' perceived inability to change the substantive nature of the school experience leads them to disengage from the values of obedience and behaviour expected by the teachers and to develop a culture based upon alternative values. However, this alternative value system only has partial penetration (Willis 1977). Any attempt to take the lesson environment seriously and to improve the nature of the learning experience runs the risk of ridicule by other pupils. Pupils pay lip service to conformity, and perpetuate their own unsatisfactory learning experience, and there is a superficial link between the instrumental purpose of the work (examination success) and intrinsic value (Sandy; Pupils 61 – 70; 100 – 123). The pupils are confused about why they are studying Macbeth in the first place. Sandy was ill at ease with her situation, the effectiveness of her pedagogy, the purpose of schooling. Sandy expressed a strong desire to leave *Boyscomp*.

Science

Gordon

Gordon favoured an engagement image of respect, based upon pupil realisation of the nature of the work that he does. That is, he believed that the work he did was in the pupils' interests. Pupils were disruptive in his lessons in order to cope with their perceptions of his poor organisation and the failings of schooling that undermined their dignity (Sikes 1984). They understood his problems (they name large class sizes amongst others) and yet this insight did not change their behaviour. The engagement image did not appear compatible with schooling at *Boyscomp*. Gordon felt that teachers did not respect other teachers as people. He accepted that decisions about content should be taken out of his hands. He thought that Science should be about pupils finding out things for

themselves and learning *how* to find things out for themselves. Here he pays regard to the link between instrumental and intrinsic value, but fear of pupil behaviour severely limited the opportunities for pupils to follow up their curiosity through experimental work. His classroom was a Science laboratory arranged in two columns of four benches facing the teachers' bench. Gordon's observed lesson was focused on a work sheet that involved comprehension exercises. Gordon's head of department, Derek, refers to bookwork as 'abject tedium' (Pre 59 – 82). This approach did not allow pupils to link the instrumental value of the subject (predominantly the value of certification) and the intrinsic value of satisfying, in some part, their curiosity. Gordon's approach is an example of a distorted form of instrumentalism. This instrumentalism denies intrinsic value as it constrains subject study in such a way that they are not able to pursue their curiosity. Instrumental value is also denied. The study of blood by worksheet makes it difficult for pupils to understand the use value, and exchange value is also distant, and meaningless, even for this 'top set'. At KS3 15% of pupils were above level 5 in Science, and pupils with 5 or more GCSE's at A-C was 11.2% in 1995. The purpose of this approach was for Gordon to achieve 'control', but even here, as with Farouk, the disruption of the class denied him this distorted instrumental value.

In the interviews Gordon sublimated his own concerns about education. He did not resist, he found nothing about school matters or the curriculum to disagree about. He attempted accommodation by accepting that content is the domain of others. Gordon's pupils are not unaware of the difficulties faced by the teachers in *Boyscomp* (48 – 60). They are perceptive but this does not stop them from being disruptive. They understood that

teachers may well be stressed by large class sizes, the range of subjects they have to teach, and the pressure on them for their pupils to perform well in examinations. They acknowledged their role in causing disruption at the beginning and end of the class. They should have been better organised but, in their view, so should the teacher. Gordon's pupils' showed how frustration and boredom can lead to disruptive behaviour.

Some teachers make you copy out and you get bored, so then you like start getting confused and start talking to other people. *When do you not listen?* When you get bored and you want to do something else, like hangman. Especially when the teacher is not there and leaves you. One of our Science teachers goes outside and leaves us. We are there by ourselves, and start throwing things. (54 – 56)

Gordon's pupils play hangman, start throwing things, and talk to each other, especially when they get bored or confused. The pupils are sometimes disrespectful, but it is largely a by-product of attempts to combat confusion, disengagement and boredom. This malaise is not just a function of Gordon's lessons. Pupils from other lessons try and conceal themselves within Gordon's lessons in an attempt to avoid their own lessons, because they know that they are going to be boring.

Pupils coming to the wrong classes on purpose. I had a student next to me who was not in our class. Just messing around. Half way through the lesson he was thrown out of our class, and told to go to the next lesson. *Why do they come to the wrong classes on purpose?* Because they know that the next lesson will be pretty boring. *Why do you think that you were kept behind for 3 minutes?* People messing around during the lesson. They were not listening to the teacher. Sir was saying 'get on with your work, if you want any help just call me.' People weren't listening and not doing their work and talking to each other about other things and not about work. *Is it easy being a good hard working pupil in Science?* No. Especially, if you don't enjoy the lesson. You won't take part in it. (62 – 76)

The pupils who participated in this disruption enjoyed it, and there is no evidence that the pupils who were subjected to it were in any way outraged by the behaviour of their peers. In fact, they go to some lengths to explain the behaviour of other pupils, and in part to justify it in terms of trying to enjoy the schooling experience, an enjoyment they are denied by the lessons themselves.

Gordon was not happy with teaching. Part of this unhappiness was revealed in his comments about the lack of respect that teachers showed each other. Gordon continued to supply answers that a teacher would be expected to, but at heart there was a deeply dissatisfied individual, operating in very trying circumstances. Like a number of pupils in the Science lessons at *Boyscomp* Gordon was to take the route of last resort, absence from the classroom, permanently.

Derek

Respect for Derek was derived from the authoritarian characteristic of Schooling. Derek thought that pupils had to understand how to deal with authority in their future lives, a form of social capital allocation (Apple 1995) and his data suggested that he was comfortable with an approach that reinforced the dominance of the teacher over the pupil (Bowles and Gintis 1976). He emphasised the importance of behaviour modification, correspondent with the 'rewards and penalties for certain capacities' characteristic of Schooling. The development of appropriate pupil behaviour dominated his Science teaching, where he acknowledged that in his Science lessons some pupils may not learn any Science at all, but they may learn how to handle equipment, and how to behave appropriately. His classroom was laid out with two blocks of two benches facing each other so that pupil could consult each other about Science. However in the lesson itself the pupils carried out their experiments in pairs on separate tables. The demands of the legitimate curriculum prevented him from values exploration and pursuing pupil interests. Practical lessons were opportunities to dilute the 'tedium of books'.

Derek thought that being a teacher made him a role model. 'Wearing the hat' of a teacher' implies asymmetrical social relations. He gives an example of how he can take out a bad mood on pupils. Like others he restricts talk of the role model to personal and social relations, but does not mention opinions or values of education; does not mention intrinsic values. Derek's pupils present a similar picture to Sandy's.

Do you get the chance to say, 'can we do some experiments?' P3 No P2 No Why not? P1 Sir, 'cos we know that we won't get it sir, because if they wanted to give us experiments sir, they could have. P3 Sir, it is hard to set it up. P1 If they wanted us to do experiments they would have told us, so there is no point. (97 - 102) I think we have all done daft things. What makes you do these things? P1 For people's attention, sir. P3 Sir, when you continue talking, sir, and making your friends happy. Impress your friends. P1 Sir, are you impressed with us, sir? (135 - 8)

Throughout the interview the replies of the pupils are prefaced and concluded with 'Sir' in an extremely deferential manner. They are, like Sandy's pupils, playing a role where the pupils' purpose is to impress the teacher. The pupils even ask if the researcher is impressed, and talk of impressing their friends in the classroom.

There is a certain resignation in their answers when they are asked why they have not asked to do more experiments in Science. They assume that the teacher has considered it inappropriate, otherwise the teacher would have already introduced it. They see 'no point' in even asking. Derek's pupils provide further evidence of a lack of respect for the school and the teacher. When asked what grades his pupils would get Derek says 'if they make it to the end, F's and G's, and one of them may be an E' (Post 79). They are expected to be 'low achievers' and yet they show remarkable stoicism with regard to the oppressive nature of their classroom experiences.

Is he (Derek) sometimes not very patient? P2. Sometimes. Why do you think he gets like that? P3 Because it is at times our fault, sir. We annoy him, sir. But, sir, we don't blame him, sir. Why, do you sometimes annoy him? P3 When we talk, sir, when he is talking to us, sir. P2 Sir, he doesn't like

it, sir. P3 When we are talking he goes 'be quiet,' and he shouts. Sir, he gets to us. *So, why do you talk, when he is talking?* P1 It is just chatting, sir. And he stops you, sir. P2 Fair enough, sir. We don't mess about, sir. (56 - 70)

They understand why Derek may lose patience with them, and they don't resent him for this. He is not wrong for getting angry with them, and they are not wrong for wanting to talk. They do not consider that what they are doing is wrong as they do not 'mess about.' They do 'daft' things in order to impress their peers, just like Sandy's pupils. Both sets of pupils infer that teachers hold power, inside and outside the classroom, that cannot be challenged. Pupil 1, in Sandy's class, wants a good reference so that he can join the army and is worried that if he upsets the teacher then there may be repercussions out of school. The pupils in Derek's class assume that the teacher has total control over the curriculum and pedagogy imposed upon the pupils. The pupils keep their real feelings private and play out a role that they think is in line with teacher expectations.

If Derek's pupils' think they are going to have boring lessons they don't bother coming to them (Pupil 139- 145). The disrespect here is for the process and it manifests itself in non-attendance (out of a class of twenty one, only eleven were present on the day of observation) and behaviour that is disrespectful of the teacher: talking over him and getting him angry. Derek accommodates this displeasure of his pupils as 'the way things are'. Derek leaves the situation behind himself when he is promoted to deputy head teacher in the South of England.

Churchcomp

There is strong evidence of mortification in *Churchcomp*, and strong similarities with *Boyscomp*. In *Churchcomp*, despite the efforts of individual teachers, the effect of schooling is to create mortification amongst teachers and pupils, and to deny the exploration of intrinsic and instrumental value. The exception to this is Drama, where pupils see the subject as being outside the 'rules' of schooling as applied in English and Science.

English and Drama

Barry

Barry's classroom was arranged in rows and classroom interaction was through him. He wanted to do the 'right thing'. He is included in the engagement image because his comments about the closeness of teacher-pupil relationships. Barry himself would probably reject being categorised in this way. Barry rejected the idea of respect altogether, equating it with fear.

Barry recognised that bad school rules disrupted learning and damaged the values of the subject. He was unhappy with the world of the teacher, which he thought was 'small'. He was not concerned with the norms of behaviour that a school might expect of a teacher, and felt that they were constrained by a false consensus dominated by business language.

Whilst the pupils at *Churchcomp* think that boisterous behaviour – e.g. throwing things in the classroom – is an integral part of schooling, and that pupils either participate in it or

ignore it, whilst all have to accept it, they appear even more wilful than those at *Boyscomp*.

P2 Even if he tells you to shush, if you don't want to you are not going to anyway, so he doesn't waste his breath. (78)... *Somebody chucked that book across the classroom when 'Barry' was out of the room.* P2 It were P4. *Okay, I'm not a teacher here, I'm not bothered about it. Why did that happen?* P4 Because ANOTHER PUPIL was throwing stuff at me. So, I said I would throw a book at him if he threw summat else. P2 It's part of school. P1 Yeah. P3 You get on with what you are doing. You don't take no notice if you are not involved. (187 – 196)

His pupils thought he was a 'good' teacher (Pupil 84 – 108). However, their behaviour could not be considered 'respectful' in the sense of contributing to a quiet, ordered environment, as it involved constantly talking over him and throwing items between pupils across the classroom. His pupils thought that their behaviour was simply 'part of school', and that they got used to it. Barry's pupils claim that he does not bother to ask pupils to be quiet in his lessons, in contradiction to the assumed conventions of schooling, such as a quiet classroom where the teacher has absolute authority.

It should be made clear that there is no expression of bitterness, or resentment towards him and no expressions of general boredom with his classes. They do not attempt to contradict him, and this may be because he does not seek out such situations. Most of the pupil informants think that he is a good teacher because he recognises that some of the rules and conventions of teaching are held to be in disrepute (Pupil 73 – 87). But his pupils do talk in disparaging terms about other teachers and the data shows a higher degree of resentment amongst the pupils at *Churchcomp* than is evident in *Boyscomp*. Gordon's pupils show some understanding of the teacher's predicament, but they were still disruptive. Barry's pupils at *Churchcomp* were less understanding of the teachers' position, and their tone has more of an edge to it.

P2 They say that they are there to help you but if you don't understand and you ask for help then they just shout at you *'What about the school, what would they think?'* P2 They're not bothered.

They don't care. P1 They want you to be priests. *The school rules that you have...* P3 They're stupid P1 Stupid. P4 There is no point. P2 You are not allowed to walk outside to your lessons. You have to stay inside. P3 You can't tie your jumper round your waste even when it is hot outside. P2 You can't wear more than one pair of earrings, and they are supposed to be studs. P3 You can't wear nose studs. P4 You have to wear shoes. P3 You are not allowed shaved hair. P2 You are not allowed hair with lots of colour. *Why have they got all these rules?* P3 They want us to look smart and to come across like the schools right posh, but its scruffy. P2 It, it's so fake. (102 - 125)

Barry's pupils were mistrustful and cynical of teachers' motives. They felt rules had little point except to serve the interests of the school, interests that they did not share. They thought the school did not consider what the pupils needed, or wanted to achieve. These pupils also did not think that they were going to achieve worthwhile grades, and it cannot be assumed that they are motivated by certification. These pupils are in a 'middle ability' set where Barry thinks that one pupil in the sample can attain a 'B' whilst one other pupil is 'up against it with her black vernacular English' (Post 46) and the other two will fall short in the 'D, E,... F, N' (Post 48) area. The pupils themselves joke about getting A*'s and say they will get 'around a C, or something like that' (Pupil 198). Despite Barry's efforts to break away from the norms and rhetoric of being a teacher, his pupils' perceptions were dominated by their negative perceptions of schooling

Millicent

Millicent was torn between the two images of respect. Millicent wanted pupils to show respect because of her subject knowledge. In practice Millicent, was loyal to the rules of the school, indicative of the authoritarian image. But, she also desired to interpret and apply these rules so that she did not disturb her lessons, the engagement image. Yet, she did not feel able to justify this position to the head teacher. Millicent was in her second year of teaching and she may be drawn to the rules because of her inexperience and in the interests of self protection (Lacey 1970). Millicent did not allow school rules to disrupt

her Drama lessons. Here, Millicent exposed her pupils to values, where they were allowed to deal with them on their own terms, rather than being forced to take a position on them.

Millicent thought that teachers were role models, and in common with Susan and Keith the model was restricted to personal relations, relationships that were defined by the relative power positions of pupils and teachers, relationships that were mortified. Millicent's (Drama) pupils repeated the accusation that rules were arbitrary and had little to do with teaching and learning (Pupil 172). However, in Drama.

We don't really have rules in Drama because nobody really messes, they all get down to us work...P3 Yeah, because it is a bit different isn't it? P1 There isn't the need for the rules. (156 – 162)

Drama was their favourite subject because they 'do things for yourself', and it is not the 'normal subject' – 'sitting there copying things' (Pupil 1 – 21). The resentment that the pupils have for the general school experience is not replicated with reference to Drama lessons. The general cynicism towards the school was evident amongst Millicent's pupils, but her subject seemed immune in ways that Barry's English and the Science classes were not. One pupil says that Drama helps her to think about issues related to controversial topics.

Because we are doing about abortion it makes you feel how you would react in them situations if it ever happened to you. *Had you never thought about that?* No, I agree, it does make you think what you would do in that situation. It makes you think twice before...it makes you find out more about it because you have to do research to make it accurate. (62 – 68)

One of the lessons took place in the school hall, and the freedom accorded by the open spaces was a very different environment from the formal ranks of tables in the classroom. The pupils give no sense that specific moral values are promoted here; the values are about research and a considered approach to decision making; values that are encouraged

through the procedures of the subject. Millicent's Drama lessons encourage pupil engagement with values, rather than encouraging a nihilistic rejection of all values connected with the school. However, this is not enough to prevent the pupils from having a very jaded view of the values of the school. Her pupils struggle to offer examples of 'positive' school rules (Pupil 176 – 182), but they offer plenty of examples of negative rules; rules that 'just put you down'. They say that they are so resentful of the school, and cynical about their motives, they are likely to do the opposite of what the school is asking of them, just because it is the school doing the asking (also Pupil 40 – 61).

However, it is not just the rules that they resent. The pupils get the message that the school generally does not value them. This is because of the poor state of repair of the building and their restricted use of it.

P3 Yeah. It's not a very good atmosphere. If you look in some of the classrooms they are pretty mucky, old. P2 Crusty. P3 Big holes in the wall and stuff. (171 - 185) *What sort of activities do you think that they could run?* P4 Well, they have one at lunch times when they go like running. P3 Yeah, but that is for their reputation again innit? P2 We've got nowt to do at lunch time. There is like nowhere for us to go is there really? P1 There is nowhere to go, you are not allowed anywhere. We've not got a common room or anything. Like all the girls go and sit in the toilets, and get chucked out of there. There isn't anywhere to sit or nothing....There is nowhere to sit; it is just nothing. P4 Yeah, they've taken the benches out of the locker rooms. P1 We should have a common room. (204 – 212)

They feel that the building is not well cared for and not designed for them. There is such a shortage of places for the pupils to socialise at break and lunch times that they go and sit in the toilets, where they are thrown out if found. Consequently, they do not feel well cared for. They make a strong link between their physical environment and attitudes towards them. They feel that the school only cares about itself and the impression that it creates with the outside world (Pupil 107 – 115): they do not feel valued. They put their views across powerfully, and the interviews are peppered with wry laughter and cynical

comments about the school. Millicent thinks that English prevents pupils from exploring issues fully, a concern that she does not have about Drama. Her lessons begin with the day to day 'situations' that pupils encounter and encourage them to work through these. Consequently there is movement from the instrumental values of these situations to a pleasure and satisfaction in the exploration of their own ideas.

Science

Susan

Susan wanted an engagement image of the teacher base upon the Self. She wanted to treat pupils as you might when you met someone in the street. She faced the same problems as others that taught at *Churchcomp*: the engagement image was undermined by pupil perceptions of schooling. She saw herself as a role model, but could not articulate what this model was, beyond that she was a female Scientist. She didn't think that she had anything to offer boys in the way of being a role model; she presented a very limited notion of herself as a person. This was a feature of being a teacher that is found with Millicent, and later with Betty and Gerry, and is a form of mortification (Woods 1979). When Susan does treat her pupils with more consideration than is expected of a teacher (Pre 156 – 9) her pupils see this as a weakness (Pupil 44 –59).

She thought that the syllabus not only prevented the exploration of curiosity in Science, but disrupted it. This was at odds with her hope that every lesson would foster curiosity. She thought that it was inappropriate that school Science should concentrate upon

training pupils to be scientists. Susan's pupils reflect an environment where neither pupils nor teachers engage in the values of the subject.

Do you get chance to explore and say, 'Oh look, I've got a different answer?' P1 No. P4 Not really, no. But then you hardly ever do anything different to how she demonstrated it. Why? Because she shows you step by step how to do it, so it is basically you are doing the same experiment and so it is usually the same results....(experiments) are exciting when you do the things yourself, but when the teacher does it, it is not exciting. You are just sat there watching, real bored. (10 – 12) Does anybody think that they would like to hear what her opinions are?.... If it is like to talk about space and how she thinks that the world began and all that, or how she thinks that most of the scientists think that. And does she ever tell you about those things? P2 Not usually, no. (21 – 46)

Values such as excitement, curiosity are not so much shared as removed. Pupils and teacher are captives of the legitimate curriculum, a regime that has a tendency to lead to the mortification of those who are trapped by it. Both pursue a form of instrumental value, often defined for 'middle ability' pupils by an elusive search for examination success.

Keith

Keith was unsure whether friendship was a proper relationship for pupils and teachers to have, but left the researcher with the impression that he wished things could be different. This is in accord with Lacey (1970) and teachers' attempts to keep up barriers, and dominance. He also wants to 'drill' respect into his pupils. Keith also wanted to treat people as 'human', possibly as 'friends'. He was drawn between the two images identified by Woods (1979, 1980, 1990.): teacher as bureaucrat (authoritarian) and teacher as person (engagement). Respect was also derived from the authoritarian characteristic of Schooling, reflecting allocation of social capital (Apple 1995) and the dominance of the teacher over the pupil (Bowles and Gintis 1976). Keith's pupils felt that they don't get much respect back from *Churchcomp* either. Keith subscribed to obedience and certification as values. He hoped that pupils would take ownership of their work even

though setting, which he thought de-motivated some pupils, was imposed in the Science department. He argued that Science gave reason and explanation, but it was also required for employment. Keith accommodated the constraints and de-motivation through a belief that he was able to do something about these matters through pedagogy. He acknowledged that these constraints put teachers into a straight jacket that cut down flair.

His pupils saw respect as a mutual relationship, but felt that teachers wouldn't listen to them.

.... all teachers think that they are right and you are wrong. (147 – 157) P3 If they respected us we'd respect them....P2 It depends how they act. If they are in a good mood then we will respect them more. (229 –232) P4 They say that we have to respect them, but they don't respect us. They never listen to you at all, let you explain, or owt. (242) *How would you want to be treated?* P4 Respected. Be able to tell teachers what you would want to tell them. But some of them you can't speak to them at all. You just have to get on with your lesson and sit there, and you can't speak to them. (311).... All other schools are allowed out at dinner time. Like nobody hardly eats school dinners because they are awful. So you could go to the shops. *Why don't they allow you out?* Because they don't trust you. They think that we wouldn't come back (323 - 332)

Keith wanted closer relationships between teacher and pupil. He had a conversational style, and despite a number of minor incidents of disruptive behaviour he did not raise his voice. His pupils claimed this was because 'you (*the researcher*) were there' (pupil 26). The atmosphere was not 'friendly', but rather formal. Pupils were discouraged from collaborating through signing a 'disclaimer' for the exam board, asserting that it is all their own work. Keith's classroom activity is driven by an examination imperative that gives rise to a limited notion of instrumental value: Science for examination success. Pupils think that they have to be passive receivers in the classroom. They cannot tell some teachers what they think, and are wary of asking for explanations. In return the pupils do not respect the teacher.

Keith's *Churchcomp* pupils enjoy making the teachers lose their tempers. They consider the things that teachers get angry about to be small things, of little significance.

P1 We always get shouted at. P2 I don't I'm a goody two shoes. Do all my work and everything. *When a teacher shouts at you what sort of effect does it have on you?* P1. I think it's funny. *Why?* P1 I don't know it's just funny when you see them lose their rag, and see them get right mad and up tight when it's over little things and you should have a laugh about it. But they get really mad and upset, and we don't understand why.... we are only kids. When they were little they would have messed about as well, but they take it right serious if someone throws a rubber across classroom or something like that. Just laugh.... (43 – 48)

The pupils get pleasure from the displeasure of the teachers. They show strong feelings of resentment, a feeling that is not as strongly evident in the other schools. In *Boyscomp* for example, there is disruptive behaviour – pupils deliberately coming and going from lessons that they shouldn't be in – but there is not the same expression of pleasure in upsetting the teachers. In *Boyscomp* the pupils put themselves in the teachers' place and understand the pressures upon them. In the *Churchcomp* data there is no attempt to understand things from the teachers' point of view. They express a heavy sense of oppression, a stifling of the pupils' spirit. They don't understand why teachers should demand such absolute control over the pupils' behaviour. They think that they are only acting like children have always done, and see nothing wrong in it. They think that teachers are to blame for failing to understand this.

Would you want to grow up to be a mature person? P3 No. 'Cos they are all boring. Because they don't take any risks or owt. Just do as they are told. P2 Don't have a laugh. P3 They are all snotty. He (*Keith*) wouldn't have been one of these kids that answered back, didn't do what they were told. *What is wrong with that?* P3 There is nowt wrong with it but, P1 Its boring all of your school life being like that. P2 you've got to be bad now and again. *Why?* P3 To let it out of your system so that it dunn't build ...P1 If you keep it in in school then you go home and take it out on your mum and dad. I'd rather take it out on my teachers than on my mum and dad. (114 – 128) 'Cos if it is boring you think, 'this is crap, I'm going to do something enjoyable, and mess about.' But if it is fun to start with it's all right then and hour goes dead quick and you just go home. P1 Because you are looking at the clock all the time and thinking what shall I do next? P3Yeah. P4 Just cause trouble. P1 Pass time. Just cause trouble, then it gets yourself into trouble. (248 – 252)

The pupils justify what many teachers would view as disruptive behaviour in a number of different ways. Barry, who also teaches at *Churchcomp*, with Keith, does ignore much of this small disruptive activity, and interestingly enough his pupils do not express resentment. It is possible to understand, in cramped Science labs with large numbers of pupils to control, why Keith would find it inadvisable to ignore such behaviour, but the pupils do not identify with the teacher's point of view. They see that they are asked to emulate behaviour that they equate with the removal of 'risk'. They do not wish to become people who just 'do as they are told'. They want to be able to 'let it out' of their 'system', and they would rather do that at school, with teachers, than save it up for their parents when they go home. They see 'causing trouble' as a way of passing the time in boring lessons, and as a way of maintaining a natural equilibrium within themselves. We see echoes here of the alternative pupil culture of *Boyscomp*, where self-entertainment is central to the schooling experiences of some pupils as they struggle to combat the monotony and boredom of the school day. Keith's pupils are disrespectful, and take pleasure in the way this upsets the teachers, although they see it as a simple expression of spirit.

There is a common characteristic in these examples of pupil power. They are carried out within the framework and conventions of schooling, and in the end do not challenge this system, although they do show disrespect for it. They show that they can exert power over the teacher, but they do it within the parameters of the system. Rules are abided to, we can assume, reluctantly. Keith, desiring, like his pupils (187 – 193) less formal more friendly relationships was engaged in a struggle with cynical and resentful pupils.

Co-edcomp

Roger's data shows success in linking the intrinsic to the instrumental in a way that leads to serenity in classroom relations. Pupils from Gerry's classroom and the Science classrooms provide further evidence of the denial of intrinsic value, and the distortion of instrumental value.

English

Roger

Roger supported the engagement image of respect derived from the Self. Respect had to be earned every day. Roger liked to treat pupils as people (Schostak 1984 p7), and had no desire to capture their minds. He thought it was important for teachers to act as role models (Gramsci 1971). There was little evidence of conflict between the Self and Schooling. He expected that teachers would share his view of professional standards as represented by sympathy, understanding, and commitment to the kids and to other teachers.

There were the same complaints from Roger's pupils about school rules, and the desire for teachers to 'treat you like a person, and not just something that they have to teach' (159 – 75) as are found in *Churchcomp* and *Boyscomp* but this did not spill over into Roger's classroom.

How would you describe him in the classroom? P3 A very good teacher. P2 My favourite teacher. *Why?* P2 Because he is funny and he kind of communicates with like what you are saying. P3 He'll answer your questions but teachers don't, they just go, get on with your work. P1 We'll have little chats and that. P2 He's just got an imagination. he is more straight forward with you, but in a laid back way, so it in't as if he is getting to you, like shouting to you.

But he is getting a message over to you and you know you can like understand him a lot more than other teachers and he comes across really easy so you know what you are doing and all that. (94 – 106)

This class was taught in rows, in a 'temporary' classroom, but the pupils still spoke warmly of Roger. His style was similar to Barry's in that he was very focused upon reading from the text, and nearly all discussion went through, and were filtered by him. But, unlike Barry, he did not ignore minor disruptive behaviour, nor reject the norms of being a teacher. There was no hint of a 'teachers problematic' (Sachs & Smith 1988). There was no apparent tension between his role and the school. He was not resentful of the teaching conditions, although he did not like them and setting allowed him to put this low ability class in a small group and to give them more attention. Roger focused upon pupil experience of issues raised in the text and invited pupils to explore their feelings and experiences of issues like bullying.

Gerry

Gerry supported an authoritarian image of the teacher derived from limited tolerance of anti-social attitudes and the perceived benefits of national certification. This authoritarian image did not mean a didactic approach to pedagogy; it was rather an influence upon his teaching persona. He thought that being a role model was compatible with being a teacher, and that this model is based upon the work ethic. However, he liked to keep a distance between his model and his own 'ethical world', another example of mortification (Woods 1979) evident in the data of Millicent, and as we shall see, Betty and Dennis in Science. Gerry's 'top' ability class was grouped around tables in fours to encourage pupil collaboration and discussion. Pupil 5, who was a frequent absentee from English classes, was sat facing a wall. This arrangement was another indicator of how Gerry rewarded

‘acceptable’ behaviour, and publicly acknowledged how the ‘unacceptable’ would be treated. His pupils although regretting the lack of choice that teacher and pupils had about the literature that they could study (224 – 227) were resigned to this situation. Pupil 5 even liked the lessons as they were (229 – 239) and recognised that ‘It’s not up to him what he teaches anyway, it’s the National Curriculum isn’t it?’ (224-227). They were a top ability group and were going to get the instrumental value of relative examination success out of their studies, and Gerry let them go down to the dining hall ‘so that makes it more interesting’. It must be said that Pupil 5 did not resent being made to sit at a separate desk, a response that would be hard to imagine in *Churchcomp*. Although his pupils demonstrated similar resentment towards the school as was found in other schools in the sample, this did not spill over into this top ability classroom (229 – 239).

Science

Betty

Betty supported the engagement image of respect based upon Subject and Self. She also attempted to link the instrumental with the intrinsic, despite being hampered by the legitimate curriculum. Betty presented a mortified Self. She thought that teaching could be demoralising, and ceased to question what she did. She recognised that science offers scope to pursue curiosity, but that school Science could not capture the imagination because of lack of time and equipment. She thought of herself as a role model, but found difficulty expressing the form that this might take, limiting it to the demands of the school and the syllabus. She felt strongly about the environment and a different way of teaching but instead of arguing for these she had disengaged, not in Huberman’s (1992)

serene or bitter stages, but rather a stage of mortification. Dennis and Gordon show evidence of having disengaged in this way.

Betty's pupils, like Roger's, did not exhibit the same degree of pupil disengagement from schooling evident in the data compared from *Churchcomp*. Pupils in this low ability class expressed dissatisfaction, but it was aimed at specifics, such as the syllabus, rather than a more general expression of dissatisfaction with schooling. They accepted the justice of school organisation, such as setting. The significant contribution of Betty's pupils is the glimpse they offer of the latent power of pupils. There are two examples of this in the data. The first is a general comment about how pupils play the system when they want to upset the teacher.

P1 ... You try to annoy them if they are not nice to you.... You don't make it too obvious but you are cheeky and that. Find ways to annoy them..... *Would you ever think well I don't like this teacher I'm not going to work for them?* P4 I think you'd think it, but you wouldn't actually do it. P1 You make them think that you are not but you do. (9 – 22)

These pupils will deliberately go out of their way to upset the teacher. But, they are careful enough to do it within the rules, so that the teacher doesn't have more reason to tell them off. In addition, they tried to give the impression that they were not working, even when they were, again, just to annoy them. They rejected the idea of unconditional respect. The second example is drawn from a previous Science lesson.

Do you have any say in how the rules are decided? P1 Sometimes. Some of the boys in the class were taking the Mickey out of a girl. Like the girl went psycho.. P3 She was marvellous. P1 and like Miss told us like we shouldn't do it and like. They told Miss why they were doing it and all. *Miss got angry?* P1 She didn't get angry. She just goes - asked them why they were doing it. P4 Then she told the girls to stop over reacting and to sit down. P3 The big girl went walking out of the room. She wouldn't stay in the room. P1 Walking out without the teacher's permission and all this. P3 She wouldn't come back in until we had all shut up. (Laughter) (115 –127)

This is an illustration of many teachers' greatest fear: that pupils will get up and walk out.

Betty's pupils ridiculed another girl pupil, and continued with this ridicule, despite the

attempts of the teacher to halt the incident. Betty's boy pupils, like Keith's, exerted considerable power and did not, in the first instance, respect the wishes of the girl pupil, or the teacher, but the pupils do stop their ribbing of the girl, and she does re-enter the classroom. Here they show the limits of teacher and pupil power and a grudging acceptance of the way the school is run, but it is not what could be called a respectful support for, or participation in, the conventions of schooling.

Betty's pupils at *Co-edcomp* didn't talk about the school with the same level of resentment as those at *Churchcomp* (133 – 162). Although they were unhappy, they were more self-confident about their own sense of power to manage the system. There was, however, a difference of opinion as to whether the pupils felt good about being in this set. They acknowledged the academic reasons but felt that there was a stigma attached to being in the 'middle' set. Betty's pupils grudgingly accepted the schools arguments for setting and teacher authority. This grudging acceptance was similar to Betty's, and as we shall see Dennis's.

Dennis

Dennis was determined to resign from teaching, and he did. His answers displayed a great degree of dissatisfaction with teaching as a career. He left before the dissemination day, but returned for it. His views during this time had moved towards a less positivistic, more communicative (Habermas 1981) view of teaching; of teaching *through* Science rather than *for* it. However, it is his views, at the time of the research that is explored here.

Respect was authoritarian, and derived from the passivity/obedience characteristic of Schooling reflecting allocation of social capital (Apple 1995) and the dominance of the teacher over the pupil (Bowles and Gintis 1976). Denis, however was ill at ease with being a teacher, as it involved a level of commitment he was not prepared to offer. He also felt that there was certain 'busyness' (Woods 1979) about teaching that is non-productive. Dennis felt that teaching could be lonely, and that teachers were 'moaners'. He had gone into science because he was curious, but the legitimate curriculum was 'stuck in the mud' (Pre 15). He ended up explaining to pupils rather than letting them follow their curiosity because of the time constraints created by a crowded curriculum, and class sizes up to thirty-four.

The significance of his views at the time of the research, his desire to leave and his apparent reflections upon the nature of Science suggest that his reason for leaving was not simply his reluctance to commit large amounts of free time to teaching; for teaching to become a lifestyle. His reflections on teaching (RM3) indicate dissatisfaction with the positivistic, authoritarian stance that he took during the data collection in phase two, and frustration with his inability to engage pupil curiosity in his lessons. Dennis' pupils shared this frustration with the legitimate curriculum.

How could lessons be improved? P1 He can't unless he changed the syllabus. More trips.*P3* And different kinds of experiments so that it isn't always heating up a substance over a Bunsen burner or something. *P2* Something that has got the element of surprise. *What can you remember about ammonia? P2* We didn't do anything about ammonia. *P1* Yes, we did. *P4* only for about a week. *P1* It was one experiment. We learnt the number formula for it. *He talked about gas in the 1st World War. P1* Oh, yes. *P3* It's coming back. *P2* We didn't do a lesson on it, he just like mentioned it. *P1* I want to do about genetics.. *P2* Psychology *P4* Physiotherapy. *Why psychology? P2* Because it is interesting. I couldn't tell you why I want to do it. (128 – 148)

They share his belief that the syllabus constrains their interest in Science that it is out of date, predictable and boring. Dennis had talked in his interviews about the role that the

discovery of ammonia played in prolonging the First World War, and in providing fertiliser that has helped to feed the world. Dennis thought that this was one of the few occasions when he was able to relate Chemistry to values. Dennis thought that this was significant, but the pupils barely noticed as he 'just like mentioned it.' The pupils were not able to pursue those things that they were really curious about, like psychology, things that they just 'want to do,' those things that engage them in intrinsic values such as 'interest'. Dennis and his pupils found the legitimate curriculum failed to motivate or engage them. Interestingly Dennis could not see an alternative until he left teaching which questions whether teacher culture encourages creative thinking, thinking that allows the possibility of alternatives. Is the school experience of teachers so invasive that it crowds out thinking, except thinking concerned with the pragmatics of schooling?

Scigirl

Data from *Scigirl* brings the correspondence of teacher and pupil informant experience into sharp focus. The correspondence lies in the denial of intrinsic value, the distortion of instrumental value, and the mortification of the self.

Science

Farouk

Farouk would have liked respect to be based upon pupil realisation that he was working in their interests. However, in practice, Farouk exhibited characteristics of the authoritarian image. He talked of the inability of pupils to be 'sensible', leading him to argue for an authoritarian approach because of pupil rejection of the teaching exchange

(Willis, 1977). Although this rejection is evident in *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp*, in *Scigirl* it is based upon disruption by one particular pupil. Other pupils tolerated disruption to the detriment of their own learning because of the understanding they had of their peers' actions.

Farouk welcomed the intervention of the government and 'educationalists' in the National Curriculum. He accommodated his inability to influence content through the belief that he could determine pedagogy, which by implication would include the values of the National Curriculum and associated testing. This was a similar position to Gerry. He also accepted that it was the responsibility of the teacher to be a role model. Farouk, unusually for the informants, referred to the teacher as a social and academic model (Gramsci 1971; Bernstein 1975; Hargreaves 1982). We have seen that Keith's pupils justify their disruptive behaviour with an analysis of their own needs, which pays little regard to this model. What was remarkable about Farouk's pupils was their analysis, based upon an understanding of social needs. Here, the pupils discussed why some pupils were disruptive in class.

Even though they have the ability, they just haven't bothered. *Why do they not?* P1 It's because they don't understand it, they might know the answer, but they won't say anything in case they get it wrong and look stupid. P4 They probably have low self esteem. So they start putting this act on just to show off to all their mates. It's not always their fault though. (1 – 30)

They articulated more fully what Sandy's pupils referred to as the immature and attention seeking behaviour of their classmates. Farouk's pupils are less judgmental of their disruptive classmates than Sandy's, who talk about their peers as being stupid and they offer a view of student values that is positive and principled. Farouk's pupils express sympathy and understanding. They do not attribute blame to their peers, but talk about

their behaviour in the context of a possible teacher response to wrong answers and the pupils' own previously poor socialisation (Pupil 1 – 30). This is how one pupil explained the behaviour of the class's most disruptive pupil.

Well, there is one girl, right, and I'm not going to say her name, but you know who she is, right. Well, she used to be in another school, this is what I've heard from everybody, and she used to get bullied didn't she? And she used to be called names and everything and so she moved here, and I suppose because she wanted everyone to like her she started to act around. I don't blame her all the time, because it is other people, but you know, past behaviour or whatever. *Could 'Farouk' do anything do you think?* P2 Perhaps he ought to try and understand more. (1 – 30)

An impressive feature of this quotation was the support it received from four different pupils. This was not just the analysis of one particularly perceptive pupil, but represented a broader level of understanding within the class. Farouk's pupils saw that disruptive behaviour was not directed at them, although they had to pay a price for this disruption. Disruption was partly caused by a failure to understand the work and partly due to previous socialisation, such as when the disruptive pupil had herself been the victim of bullying in a previous school. The price that they had to pay was its effects on their learning. But they accepted this price because there were other benefits that they hoped would come about through a fuller integration of these pupils.

This level of understanding can be misinterpreted as complicity in disruption and disrespectful behaviour. They did not demand that the pupil 'shut up' so that they could get on with the work. In Farouk's class they tolerated disruptive behaviour. From Farouk's point of view this meant that the class failed to reach that critical mass of pupils (Sandy Post 24 – 27) who demand that the rest of the class respect the teacher exchange: dependent upon an ordered environment, where the teacher carries authority.

Pupils also had to wear a school uniform and were subjected to bans on certain items such as jewellery. Whilst teachers wore the same banned items this smacked of double standards to pupils. The reasons that teachers give for this did not, in the pupils' view, legitimise the rules on uniform.

P4 It is supposed to be for safety. But how is it going to be for safety? 'Cos no one is going to go around pulling your ears and pulling your earrings off. P1 You are not allowed nail varnish on, and make up. P4 No one is going to go around scraping it off. P3 They are silly. P2 Teachers wear all this jewellery, and then they say we can't wear it for safety. But it is them that is doing all the stuff isn't it? P1 They are no different just because they have got qualifications. (80 – 92)

There was the inference from one pupil that teachers have a superior attitude to them that cannot be justified by the fact that teachers had qualifications and they didn't. Farouk's pupils thought that schooling was unfair and failed to respond to their needs, and this pre-occupied them. The implications for Farouk are considerable. Farouk takes schooling and its benefits as a given and wants pupils to comply with the norms and expectations as implied by his 'academic' and 'social' role model. Pupil pre-occupation, with their own and other pupils' needs, lead them to reject, or at least ignore these norms. This leads Farouk to distrust his pupils, preventing him from risking a more creative pedagogy.

P3 We need more excitement. P2 Not that we are being sexist, but Physics isn't really a woman's thing is it? Well it's not mine. I'm not into weighing copper bits and blowing things up and that. That's not me. P4 Yeah, but you don't blow things up. That's what's so boring about it. P3 Yeah, all we do is watch. P4 Sometimes when you do the experiments it gets so boring. You think, why bother, people have done this so many times. You don't learn anything new. It is like a right and a wrong. You can memorise all these answers. If you don't get the answers then you have failed basically. *Do you like Physics?* P1 No, because it is boring. It needs to be more uplifting for us. (Pupil 31 – 60)

Farouk was fearful of making Science more interesting, such as experiments outside in the school grounds, or of pupils conducting their own experiments, because he was worried about losing control of their behaviour. He talked about the importance of an investigative and discovery approach in Science but argued that this wasn't possible because of a lack of resources, a necessarily full syllabus and 'silly' behaviour by pupils

who did not appreciate the importance of education. This failure to share his values angered him (Pre 275 - 276), and forced him to try to maintain control through a pedagogy heavily dependent on demonstration.

At *Scigirl*, the Science lessons of Farouk bring the major findings of this thesis into focus, and move the findings on from the teacher data. Intrinsic value was denied, instrumental value was distorted, teacher and pupil disengaged from the pursuit of curiosity, and the class retreated behind images of authoritarian teacher, and feared and disruptive pupils, the mortified Selves of Schooling. These findings apply to teachers as much as they do to pupils. There is a correspondence of experience amongst these informants that takes analysis beyond the conflict paradigm. Chapter Eight explores the relationship of these findings to the research problems of shared values and teacher disengagement.

Chapter Eight

Stage three of analysis:

The research questions further explore the research problems of teacher disengagement and shared values.

Values are viewed differently by the informants, particularly as a result of the tensions between the Self and Subject on the one hand, and Schooling on the other. The exclusion of the values of Pupils and Subject, legitimised by the examination imperative, reinforces technical rationality. Teachers and pupils feel resentment, sometimes expressed as disruption, at the consequent denial of intrinsic value, and the distortion of instrumental value. Although this resentment and frustration sometimes manifests itself as conflict between informants and their pupils there is also a corresponding frustration with their respective mortification, manifest in their roles as teachers and pupils.

The research questions are used in this chapter to explore the relationship of these findings to the research problems: a perceived breakdown in shared values, and the perceived disengagement of teachers from their classroom experiences.

Research question one: What are the values that are important to teachers?

The values identified are not values as ideals (Marcuse 1972). The values that emerged were the values of practice, in keeping with values as aims of education (Dewey 1966 Bowles and Gintis 1976). The meanings attached to these values by teachers are derived from four contexts: Self, Subject, Schooling, and Pupils. These contexts shape meaning through characteristics, which when applied to a value become attendant values. This

means that values have different nuances. Teachers take their meanings from different contexts.

There are two implications. Firstly, Subject and Pupils are denied as contexts, particularly by the QCA (1997) but also by individual teachers, particularly in Science. This disconnects teachers and pupils from meaningful investigation, particularly curiosity in Science, but also exploration in English and contributes to the mortification of teachers and pupils.

Secondly, meanings of values cannot be imposed. The imposition of respect, for example, becomes a commonly recognised but differently interpreted value. A complicated picture emerges where Schooling plays a major role in generating tension, further highlighting the dilemma between the engagement and authoritarian images. The Schooling context was characterised by authoritarianism, where practice was in conflict with policy and there was fear of a breakdown in pupil discipline. A significant number of pupils in *Churchcomp* talked with bitter resentment about the imposition of school uniform, and the way Schooling soured pupil-teacher relationships. Respect was based upon assumptions about the value of subject study. Many pupils did not derive instrumental value from subject study, either use or exchange value, and intrinsic value was denied. So, individual teachers resorted, particularly in Science, to a distorted form of instrumental value that claimed to offer use value and exchange value, but in many cases offered neither.

Schools try to impose a common meaning without exploration. This is achieved through strategic communication, a one way communication. This manipulation and denial of

exploration of different meanings leads to cynicism and frustration. Worryingly, five informants had a negative perception of being a teacher. Of these, only Mary was still in teaching at the end of the research project, and she had been on long-term leave due to 'stress'. The Schooling context characterised the teacher with passivity, and a concern with serving state/political interests, including the promotion of a 'legitimate' knowledge, and certification. Seven informants characterised the teacher as a role model where important aspects of the Self are stripped from the relationship, such as friendship, intimacy, and the joint pursuit, through communicative action, of intrinsic values such as curiosity and exploration.

The Schooling context promoted the attendant values of passivity, obedience, the serving of state and political interests, certification and classification of pupils and a pre-occupation with preventing the breakdown of relationships with pupils. Pupil informants in English, although experiencing the curtailment of intrinsic value, were not as jaded as their Science counterparts. Whilst there was a tendency to disconnect the intrinsic from the instrumental, the English informants were not dominated by an inappropriate curriculum, and poor resources in the same way that Science informants were. Significantly, the context of Subject was not in evidence in the construction of teacher value, which suggests the 'teacher' has separate connotations to subject study, being centred mainly upon the Self and Schooling.

Assumptions of shared meaning, and their blanket imposition through Schooling, led to misunderstandings, and feelings of confusion, frustration, bitterness and desperation. This thesis reveals that assumptions of shared meanings of even the most elementary values,

such as respect, the value of the teacher, and the value of the subject are mistaken assumptions. Communicative action was too often absent from teacher relationships with each other, and with pupils, preventing the exploration of meaning required for understanding the different perspectives on values: a first step in developing shared values.

Research question two: Are teachers' values characterised by contradiction?

It is more appropriate to talk of tensions between values positions based upon the characteristics of different contexts, than to talk of contradictions. Contradiction implies the negation of a values position, whereas to talk of tensions suggests a dialectical relationship that constructs a range of meanings attributed to values through the characteristics of the four contexts. The nature of the dilemma depends upon the circumstances of the individual teacher, which varies with the nature of the contexts. Some contexts reduce the tensions between characteristics and allow for the teacher to encourage connection between instrumental and intrinsic value. Schooling, for example was not a source of tension in English at *Engirl*. At *Boyscomp* the tensions between Self and Subject on the one hand, and Schooling on the other created problems that appear irreconcilable, particularly in the Subject of Science.

Whilst Millicent is torn between School and Self, informants favour, or identify with, a particular context in constructing meaning for a value. For example, if a value is based upon Schooling, and that value causes dissonance, tension, and complexity then there are indications that blame can be shifted into that context and away from the Self, as with Derek and respect. If construction of the value is derived from the Self, as with Barry and

Mary and respect, or Brenda, Dennis and Gordon with curiosity then it is not so easy for informants to accommodate the teacher problematic.

The dominance of the traditional subject boundaries (particularly in Science) and the hierarchical tradition of Schooling reflect the perceived power of the school over pupils (Bernstein 1975). This perspective, derived largely from Schooling, is manifest in the authoritarian image of the teacher. Pupils are seen to resent and, in exceptional circumstances (where opportunity arises), challenge the legitimacy of this perspective creating tensions for all teachers in the sample, with the exception of June, Jenny, and to a certain extent, Roger; all of whom are teachers of English. Informants express an affinity with an engagement image emerging from the context of Self, an image that was more open to engagement with the intrinsic-instrumental continuum. However, the challenge by pupils, and to a certain extent teacher informants, to the legitimacy of the curriculum and the examination imperative evident in the drive for classification and certification, attacks engagement with the intrinsic, often leaving a distorted form of teacher instrumentality. This distorted instrumentality can be seen where teachers respond to the values contexts with a technical, risk aversion strategy, exemplified by repetitive practical 'experiments' and demonstrations, or mundane classroom activities.

The dilemma positions of stage two of the analysis, represent the two ends of a continuum, along which informants are drawn by the forces of Self, Subject, Schooling, and Pupils for their values interpretations. The issue of shared values is not as pressing as the need to develop understanding of different values positions. The tension between Schooling and the Self requires accommodation (Woods 1979) of the teachers'

problematic (Sachs and Smith (1988). The third research question examines how the informants addressed accommodation.

Research question three: How does the occupational experience affect teacher values?

A study of values is a messy business. Values are dynamic. They change and develop with circumstances. The characteristics of contexts shape, and constrain the meaning of values. Whether a value is intrinsic or instrumental depends upon the satisfaction and pleasure an individual feels as a result of pursuing or achieving a value. Respect, for example, can raise self-esteem, or create fear, dependent upon context. Within the context of Subject it was *more likely* to hold intrinsic value, and in the context of Schooling it was *more likely* to have instrumental value, fear being one extreme of the instrumental continuum. This is not to say that either context is pre-determined or constant. Different teachers have different experiences of contexts. Contrast Jenny and June's experience of Schooling in *Engirl*, with Mary and Sandy's experience of Schooling, just across the road, in *Boyscomp*.

Fear of pupil disruption, an important consideration when dealing with potentially dangerous equipment and substances, and the examination imperative of a legitimate curriculum has a more powerful influence upon the values of Science lessons than that of English. However, the influence of Schooling, as at *Churchcomp* can be equally powerful in English. When informants are insecure, unhappy and unfulfilled they resort to a distorted, task-orientated form of instrumental value that leaves teachers and their pupils disengaged.

Schooling tends to mortify essential aspects of the teachers' Self, eliminating or distorting friendship, communication, and intrinsic values such as respect, curiosity and exploration, and in Science distorting instrumental value, and devaluing their own value as teachers. Teachers attempt to accommodate this problematic, some more successfully than others. There is intense pressure from Schooling for teachers to limit values to the instrumental, thus reducing the possibilities for intrinsic satisfaction. Teachers are pressured into responding with technical rationality, to let the characteristics of Schooling take the responsibility for values engagement; to let distorted instrumentality, the commodification of education, offer a route to intrinsic satisfaction some time in the future. Gordon, Dennis, and Barry, simply gave up the battle, and so, to a lesser extent, did Derek, Betty, Susan, Keith and Sandy. Mary, recovering from stress, Millicent and Farouk, carried on. The English teachers, Jenny, June (*Engirl*), Roger and possibly Gerry (*Co-edcomp*) found an accommodation with the teacher problematic (Sachs and Smith 1988). The tensions created between the contexts were not as great with these four as could be witnessed for the other eleven teachers.

Research question four: How do teacher cultures differ across schools and subjects?

There were a small number of patterns to emerge. English teachers were more comfortable with intrinsic values than Science teachers, and appeared more comfortable with their occupational experiences. *Engirl* and *Co-edcomp* had Schooling contexts that created less tension between the contexts of Self and Schooling than *Boyscomp*, *Churchcomp* and *Scigirl*. The combinations of the characteristics of Self, Subject, Schooling and Pupils are complicated, and the individual cultures created by the different mixes, described below, make further generalisations speculative, but important, if the difficulties associated with perceptions of a breakdown in shared values and teacher disengagement are to be addressed.

Engirl

English

Jenny was head of English, and June had been in the department three years. It was her first appointment. The data from *Engirl* did not reflect the same deep-seated discontent that was to be found in other schools. They were at ease with themselves as teachers, and were able to implement a pragmatic/liberal (Marshall 2000) form of pedagogy that allowed them to generate respect amongst and between pupils and teachers. June and Jenny subscribed to the engagement image of the teacher. They had mixed ability classes, the only such classes in the sample, and organised the classrooms to facilitate discussion amongst the class. Both teachers initiated and practised engagement, and the authoritarian image did not raise itself as an issue with teachers or pupils. There needs to be a word of caution here. The limitations of the methodology may not have searched as deeply amongst their pupils as subsequent interviews did. The interviews with June and Jenny,

and their pupils were the first to be conducted, and the pupil interview technique was not as developed as it was for later interviews. However, the pupils did not make an issue of the way that the school treated them. There was not the undercurrent of resentment that was to be found in *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp*.

Boyscomp

English

Mary was head of department and Sandy had been teaching at *Boyscomp* for nine years. Mary was to have a long-term absence in the dissemination phase due to stress, and Sandy was to die in tragic circumstances in the same year. Both teachers felt the tension between their role as a teacher and the school and as such reflect the teachers' problematic (Sachs and Smith 1988). Mary and Sandy embarked upon a strategy of accommodation (Woods 1979), justifying a dependence upon setted classes in terms of the limited ability range of their pupils which denied a 'critical mass' of motivated pupils. Mary practised a pragmatic/liberal pedagogy (Marshall 2000) whilst Sandy practised a cultural heritage/adult needs model (Snow 1991).

Mary subscribed to the engagement image and Sandy to the authoritarian image of the teacher. Mary encouraged engagement with the values of the subject amongst her top set but setting created problems for Sandy who taught a lower ability, pre GCSE certificate set. Sandy's pupils would play lip service to their role as pupils, but frequently undermined the teaching exchange. Sandy wanted deference and this did not facilitate engagement with the values of the subject when the pupils rejected the value of certification. Both Mary and Sandy found themselves in opposition to the legitimate

curriculum but ambiguous about certification: Mary thought education undermined critical thinking and Sandy's pupils were de-motivated by the pre-certificate. This put them both under pressure as they attempted to provide pupils with the best certification opportunities. Mary linked the instrumental with the intrinsic, but Sandy failed to do this as her pupils saw little instrumental or intrinsic value in the study of 'Macbeth'. Mary hated being seen as a teacher and did not like what she saw of other teachers. Sandy thought that ineffective school rules led to chaos, and fatigue amongst teachers. Sandy was isolated and disengaged from the values of her school, national inspection systems, and her pupils. Whilst Mary was similarly isolated she managed limited engagement with her own English pupils.

Science

Derek was head of department and was to leave for a job as deputy head in the south of England at the end of the dissemination year. Gordon had taught briefly in the school during the early 1990's before teaching in Africa for six years. He had returned to the school to teach Biology and had been teaching there for half a term before the research began. He left before the academic year had ended, after the data had been collected, to become a paramedic.

Gordon was not able to accommodate the disappointment he felt on his return to teach in England. His Science was value free and he paid service to positivism, and Science as the active pursuit of curiosity, but the reality was constrained by his isolation from other teachers (Pre 151 – 152) and the behaviour of uninterested and disruptive pupils. He failed to come to terms with the teacher problematic as his desire for a culture based (Osborne

2000), open minded science (Pre 45 – 86) was, in practice, pedagogy which attempted Turner and DiMarco's (1998) education *through* science (Post 30 – 31) tinged with Osborne's utilitarianism (Pre: 83 – 87).

Derek accommodated the failure to engage pupils in Turner and DiMarco's (1998) education *for* science through recognition of schooling objectives associated with pupils' ability to 'deal with authority' (Pre 118). Derek, like Gordon, framed his pedagogy as education *through* science (Post 34 - 35, 46 – 50, 71) tinged with the economic (Pre 59 – 82).

Gordon subscribed to the engagement image of the teacher, and Derek to the authoritarian image. Gordon acknowledged the link between instrumental and intrinsic values, but a combination of ennui and fear of disruptive behaviour from pupils prevented realisation. Derek pursued instrumental value, and this was concerned with developing appropriate attitudes, literacy skills and the handling of scientific apparatus. The evidence suggests that his lessons were in effect similar to Gordon's. The daily business of school life had reduced the value of Science to an arid form of instrumentalism, with no intrinsic value. There are similarities here with Sandy's English lesson where, despite Sandy's desire for her pupils to appreciate the value of Shakespeare, the lessons were concerned with the role play of passive, obedient pupil and authoritarian teacher. The lessons were instrumental, the purpose of which was somehow lost in the busyness of Schooling. There was no indication that Derek and Gordon collaborated or explored values with pupils or teachers. The data confirmed tension between pupils, between informants, and between both groups. However, there were similarities in behaviour. Firstly, both disrupted scientific

learning for the benefit of extraneous value systems. An example of this was an alternative pupil value system and teacher recourse to authoritarianism, the legitimate curriculum, and classification of pupils: the characteristics of Schooling. Secondly, both absented themselves from lessons. Pupils did this through truancy and teachers did it by leaving classroom teaching. Both pupils and teachers disengaged from the values of Science in the context of Schooling.

Churchcomp

English and Drama

Barry had been teaching for thirty years and was acting head of department. Millicent was in her second year and taught English and Drama. Data from *Churchcomp* offers substantial evidence that an authoritarian school culture causes pupils to bring cynical attitudes and disruptive behaviour into the classrooms of teachers who desire a more engaging form of relationship. Barry showed affinity with a cultural heritage/personal growth view of English teaching (Snow 1991) and Millicent had affinity with a Liberal (Marshall 2000)/Personal growth (Snow 1991) pedagogical approach. Both teachers had strategies for avoiding the teacher problematic, based upon the primacy of the work over other Schooling characteristics, although the effects of Schooling on pupils was to play a significant part in the classroom experiences of both teachers.

Barry recognised that there was a drive for consensus that damaged truth. He thought that truth was fashioned by disagreement, and the combat of ideas. He rejected the concept that teaching was about the values of obedience and passivity. Business language played a central role in closing down critical scrutiny of ideas and created a false consciousness.

Certification was used to check that the teachers were 'all right', further limiting the scope for risk taking and creativity. Both teachers valued the primacy of 'the work' and in this they necessarily invoked the instrumental – intrinsic continuum. Barry did this through a teacher centred approach dependent upon close relationships with pupils that were soured by the pupils' perception of Schooling. Millicent did this through the more pupil centred pedagogy of Drama, which involved pupils researching ideas and values for themselves. Barry overtly rejected the 'rhetoric and solemnity' of being a 'teacher' whilst Millicent was torn between engagement and authority. There was a degree of resistance in Barry's exploration of the values of schooling. Millicent attempted accommodation of the teachers' problematic: the constraints of a legitimate curriculum that excluded most of her favoured authors, and limited her pedagogical approach against her desire to maintain the value of the subject.

Science

Keith was head of Biology and second in Science. He had been teaching for twenty-two years. The classrooms of Susan and Keith were newly refurbished laboratories (the design of which Keith was not happy with because it provided limited space for experiments) designed for pupil discussion. Pupils faced each other around the benches. The teachers had a separate bench at the front of the class. Keith yearned for warmer relationships with pupils but appeared resigned to more distant and less satisfying relationships. Susan had been teaching for three years and had no responsibility points. She was more relaxed in her approach than Keith and encouraged more discussion amongst her pupils. Keith's pedagogy was bound by education *for* science (Turner and Dimarco 1998) and the economic argument (Osborne 2000). Susan rejected the economic argument because she

thought that training to be a scientist was inappropriate for most pupils. She had an affinity with the democratic argument (Osborne 2000) despite pupil resistance to engagement. This resistance was due in part to the limits of a pedagogy designed for legitimate knowledge and the satisfaction of exam requirements. It was also in part due to pupil antipathy to what they saw as intrusive and disrespectful Schooling.

Keith distanced himself from engagement with subject values and from warmer relationships with pupils as a coping strategy. He justified Science in terms of the economic argument *for* Science. Susan tried to embrace the demanding pedagogy of discovery and discussion typical of the democratic argument. She later left for a sixth form college where she was pleased that she was in a classroom where '(I) Don't have to talk about chewing gum or tucking shirts in' (Teacher Respect RM3), an obsession with appearance and personal habits that can dominate school life. Schooling's institutional denial of pupil interest and essential features of the Self, such as denial of self respect embodied in their treatment through school rules, jeopardised the approaches to pupil engagement. In an atmosphere of mortification, pupils viewed individual attempts at friendship, trust, and the pursuit of curiosity suspiciously, cynically, or as signs of weakness. This contributed to a self-imposed mortification of teachers, mirroring the imposed mortification of pupils. Both teachers taught Science as a purely technical matter, rather than one of human curiosity, reason and explanation; values that they thought underpinned their subject. As with Sandy, Gordon and Derek at *Boyscomp* practice was dominated by a form of instrumental value limited and constrained by the examination imperative.

Co-edcomp

English

Roger was the head of English and had been teaching for 24 years, 23 of them at *Co-edcomp*. Gerry was the Curriculum Co-ordinator and had been teaching for 26 years, 25 of them at *Co-edcomp*. Roger taught a 'lower' ability set, and Gerry a 'top' ability set. Roger practised an engagement style, where respect was earned every day. Gerry articulated an authoritarian style of teaching. Both were at ease with their chosen styles. There was not the same degree of tension in their data as was found in *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp*. In terms of the apparent lack of tension in the teachers' problematic, there were similarities between English informants in *Engirl* and *Co-edcomp*. Whilst there was some tension between the pupils and the school this did not dominate the experiences of teacher or pupils in the English classrooms. Roger exhibited characteristics of the old grammarian model (Marshall 2000) and Gerry the characteristics of the pragmatist (Marshall 2000).

Their pupils liked Roger and Gerry, and there was little of the cynicism and resentment of *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp*. Both teachers attempted to involve pupils in the issues raised by the texts and they were partially successful in satisfying intrinsic values such as independence of thought and exploration of the human condition. Both teachers valued different images of the teacher, and different arguments for English. Both shared self confidence and belief in the value of their work, and the importance of moving between the instrumental value of the subject (examination success, power of expression) and intrinsic values such as understanding their feelings and independence of thought. Values were organic, moving from the instrumental to the intrinsically satisfying and back again to the purposefully instrumental. For example, the development of the power of language

didn't simply help to pass an exam but brought pleasure and satisfaction in itself, before offering further satisfaction requiring further development. They allowed pupils to engage in the work, and to consider their own perspectives on the issues arising from the texts, even if Gerry's top ability pupils were a little cooler towards his 'technical' approach as a teacher than Roger's low ability group were towards his more engaging, personable style. Pupil and teacher attitudes in this respect were a reflection of the engagement and authoritarian styles. Schooling in *Co-edcomp* did not significantly undermine the respect that pupils and teachers had for each other.

Science

Betty had been at *Co-edcomp* for twelve years, and was in her fifteenth year of teaching. Dennis had been teaching for five years, four of them at *Co-edcomp*. The laboratory seating was arranged in rows facing the teachers' desk. This made the classrooms very formal. Betty's classroom was particularly large which meant that those who sat at the back of the classroom were some distance from the teacher, adding to the difficulty of developing close relationships.

Both teachers were ill at ease with teaching Science in *Co-edcomp*, indicating frustration with the imposed legitimate curriculum and their relative powerlessness to influence the nature of school Science or, as in Dennis's case, teachers' attitudes. It is difficult to summarise the pedagogical underpinning of these informants. Betty admitted that she didn't question the nature of her teaching anymore, 'I just do it' (Pre 84 – 95). However, she did talk about how values could be taught through Science and when she referred to how she used to teach and how she would like to teach there was resonance with the

democratic argument (Osborne 2000). Dennis' pedagogy was also difficult to summarise, mainly because his views developed during the course of the research project. He moved through descriptions of the utilitarian, economic and cultural to a desire for the democratic (Osborne 2000). Similarly he moved from education *for* science to education *through* science (Turner and DiMarco 1998).

Scigirl

Science

Farouk had been teaching for six years, all of these at *Scigirl*. Farouk had previously been a research assistant for a number of years at a university and had a Ph.D in physics. The laboratory was laid out formally, with benches facing a raised platform at the front where Farouk could demonstrate experiments. Farouk expressed a strong sense of frustration at the failure of his pupils and wider society to share his passion for Physics (Pupil 31 – 36). He was educating *for* science, using the economic/utilitarian argument (Osborne 2000) to justify his pedagogy. Farouk inhabited an environment where teachers rarely talked about Science, and pupils were resentful of Schooling. Consequently, Farouk concentrated on a form of instrumentalism that was driven by a desire to control disruptive pupils. Pupils saw little instrumental value in the subject at all.

There are differences between schools. The Schooling of *Engirl* and *Co-edcomp* was not antipathetic to their English teachers. Whilst the Schooling of *Boyscomp*, *Churchcomp* and *Scigirl* made it difficult for teachers at either end of the engagement-authoritarian continuum to engage pupils in the values of the subject. There are differences between subjects. Although English struggled with the denial of intrinsic value, Science appeared

to reject intrinsic value altogether, and relied more than English upon a distorted form of instrumental value. This distorted form attempted control under the guise of offering use value and exchange value (certification) as instrumental value. Pupils in Science were more likely to disengage if they thought that they were unlikely to get a 'C' grade or above, and if the subject matter (for example, the study of iron ore, or the repetition of pre-determined experiments) was thought to be irrelevant to them. In this case a narrow, risk free pedagogy did little to control low level, and less frequently, high level disruption. This created disengagement for Gordon, Dennis, Farouk, Keith and ultimately for Betty in Science, and for Sandy in English. Keith, Mary, and Barry talked openly about friendship with pupils, and regretted that it was not a reality. Mortification stretched deep into the subject classroom. A false consensus denied the existence of different perspectives and too often robbed the teacher and pupil of the excitement of exploration and curiosity.

Research question five: How far is a conflict model of the school reflected in pupil response to teacher values?

There is conflict between pupils and Schooling, but there is also a correspondence between the experiences pupils and teachers share of Schooling. The behaviour of pupils reflected Giroux's (1983) view that resistance is related to moral indignation rather than the logic of deviance. *Churchcomp* pupils accepted teacher control within the teaching paradigm (Willis 1977), but exerted power to influence the nature of that control, especially when it undermined their dignity, as did Betty's pupils at *Co-edcomp*, but without the degree of resentment found at *Churchcomp*. Data from Millicent and Barry confirmed that teacher informants shared the pupils' contempt for rules that disrupted learning.

Co-edcomp pupils were not disruptive. Rather, they responded without passion, curiosity, or excitement. Like Betty, Dennis and Gerry they had acquiesced to mortification, they too were going through their paces with no great interest, although there was evidence to suggest that Roger successfully related the instrumental and the intrinsic, as did Gerry, to a lesser degree.

The responses of pupils in *Churchcomp* were particularly interesting because of the intensity of alienation which pupils expressed despite their teachers' desire for an engagement model of teaching. There was strong evidence from *Engirl* that the engagement image could be implemented and respect between pupils and teacher could be maintained. There was also limited evidence that this could also be achieved in English at *Co-edcomp*. What was strikingly different about the data in *Engirl* was the absence of

pupil disaffection with schooling, disaffection that was clearly apparent in *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp*. Data from *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp* demonstrated that the engagement image, based upon treating pupils as people did not always counteract pupils' negative perceptions of 'respect' and 'teacher', perceptions encouraged in part by Schooling. Large class sizes; demanding exam expectations on teachers; conflicting messages from the school about respect, and the way that the school undermined pupil dignity were aspects of Schooling that distorted instrumental value and denied intrinsic value. *Churchcomp* pupils illustrated alternative values systems, and mistrust and cynicism towards teacher motives that caused further difficulties for the engagement image.

It is important to point out that what is described here is a strong tendency to mortification, distortion of instrumental value and denial of intrinsic value. There were times, even in *Churchcomp*, when pupils managed to engage in the intrinsic. This was particularly so in *Millicent's* Drama lessons. The same can be said of Mary's English lessons at *Boyscomp*, and Roger's English lessons at *Co-edcomp*. In these lessons teachers engaged pupils through building upon the values that pupils already had. Similar examples in Science appeared elusive.

The authoritarian image provoked a sharply negative response from pupils, particularly in *Boyscomp* and *Churchcomp*. Sandy and Derek's *Boyscomp* pupils learnt to role-play in a cynical way. They were deferential, compliant, and considered their Schooling to have a coincidental instrumental purpose; for example, references for future work. However, instrumental value was not a motivation for subject study. Sandy and Derek's pupils took part in an alternative values system that was echoed by Gordon's *Boyscomp* pupils, and

Keith, Susan, Barry and Millicent's *Churchcomp* pupils. Farouk's pupils at *Scigirl* offered further insight into a value system based upon mutual support and the maintenance of dignity in the face of what they considered a degrading social experience. *Churchcomp* pupils also considered the nature of the school buildings, and the use they were allowed of them, to be an attack upon their dignity. The pupils' alternative value system, based upon humour to restore status, only partially penetrated the teaching paradigm and illustrated aspects of self-oppression familiar to Willis (1977).

The oppositional behaviour of pupils is aimed largely at the characteristics of Schooling. When these characteristics, state/political interests through the legitimate curriculum, passivity and obedience, asymmetrical relationships, certification of pupils, and strategic action, manifest themselves as the attendant values to research values of respect, teacher, curiosity and exploration, they undermine these values. This causes pupils to be cynical of the attendant values of Self, both those of the engagement and authoritarian images. In Subject they are cynical of instrumental and intrinsic value. In this sense there is conflict, in that teachers are charged with transmitting the values of Schooling. However, teachers also reflect some of the same discomfort with Schooling as their pupils. In the sense of the common experiences of teachers and pupils it is more useful to talk of correspondence of teacher and pupil experiences.

There is much in the behaviour of pupil 'opposition' and 'resistance' that is reflected in the behaviour of teachers. Pupils fight mortification, represented by norms of pupil behaviour, imposed by Schooling. Teacher informants fight a self-imposed mortification, represented by norms of teacher behaviour and the requirement to impose mortification of

pupils through Schooling. In addressing the problems of disengagement and shared values it is more constructive to talk in terms of the correspondence of experience, and the correspondence of a desire for meaningful instrumental and intrinsic value than to consider the school a site of conflict.

Research question six: What happens to teachers who find their values are in conflict with teacher culture?

Conflict suggests notions of resistance, opposition or defeat. Given the analysis pursued throughout the thesis engagement and disengagement are more useful concepts (Huberman 1992) when examining the informants' relationships to culture, circumscribed by reference to Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils.

Engirl

Jenny and June

There was little evidence of tension, and the daily business of school life allowed the teachers to engage in an exploration of values that they held to be important in their teaching. There was a shared ethos of a pragmatic/liberal pedagogy that linked the instrumentality of the power of language and examination success with the intrinsic value of exploration. The proscribed reading list did negatively affect teacher practice and limit their expression, but it did not contribute to negative perceptions of themselves or Schooling or seriously restrict their ability to engage in a teaching style that they were comfortable with.

Boyscomp

Mary, Sandy, Derek and Gordon

Mary was the only teacher at *Boyscomp* who managed to develop limited engagement with the values of the subject in her lessons. The implication of the legitimate curriculum and its assessment weighed heavily upon the classroom experiences in the lessons of the four informants. Whilst some pupils disrupted lessons and others played truant, of the four teachers Gordon left teaching altogether, Derek was promoted to deputy head teacher, away from the classroom, Mary went on long term leave because of stress; and Sandy, who was desperate to leave *Boyscomp*, sadly died.

Churchcomp

Barry, Millicent, Susan and Keith

Pupils and teachers were prisoners of the examination imperative. Barry pursued a single minded and lonely battle against the disruptive effects of Schooling and for the intrinsic values of ideas and emotions. Millicent, drawn between engagement and authoritarianism tried, in Drama, to engage the instrumental-intrinsic continuum, an opportunity severely curtailed by the legitimate curriculum of English. Barry took early retirement and Cheryl left for another teaching post shortly after the dissemination stage. Keith and Susan had strong reservations about the nature of Schooling. Keith although resigned to it, was promoted to head of year, which took him away from the classroom. Susan moved onto the comparative freedom of a sixth-form college. All four were to a greater, or lesser extent, able to remove themselves from the classrooms of *Churchcomp*. The strategy of removal was more difficult for pupils but it was also in their thoughts, as the school well knew. As Keith's pupils said: if they were let out at lunchtime, they might not come back.

Co-edcomp

Roger, Gerry, Betty and Dennis

Neither Dennis nor Betty could accept the level of mortification required to remain in the classroom. Dennis left altogether and Betty went to part time teaching. Betty felt that teachers were put upon, and Dennis thought that, when he saw them, teachers were a negative influence upon him. Both were lost to the classroom due, in part, to the lack of engagement with the values of their subject. Both wanted to engage pupils in those things that excited them, but they and their pupils were denied this opportunity. Roger managed to maintain 'imagination' and an adherence to engagement in intrinsic and instrumental value. Gerry had successfully accommodated the teacher's problematic, and his model of the teacher was mortified, excluding his own 'ethical world.' There was a stability and contentment about the English informants not evident with the Science informants. Dennis was lonely and ill at ease with the authoritarian image that he tried to attain. Subsequent reflection, after his decision to leave teaching, caused him to revise his relationship to pupils, subject matter and the role of values. Betty, after fifteen years of teaching withdrew from full time teaching. She had ceased to question and was aware that teaching could be demoralising. Similarly, the pupils at *Co-edcomp*, lacking the bitterness of *Churchcomp*, resigned themselves to the Schooling experience, with no great passion or interest, save for Roger's 'low ability' group who cherished his sense of humour and imagination.

Scigirl

Farouk

Although Farouk talked at times in terms of the engagement image, he described this as a desire for pupils to understand an engagement defined by hierarchy and the division of responsibilities, in effect an authoritarian approach. As a consequence his pupils did not engage in the values of Science and they undermined his authority. His response was to eschew the link between the instrumental and intrinsic values of Science and to pursue an instrumentalism based upon minimum risk that pupils found of no instrumental value.

Faouk's pupils did not share his passion for Physics, and there was little indication that he managed to share this with other teachers. Communication with teachers appeared sporadic, opportunistic and pragmatic, involving discussion about examination success and the occasional exchange of resources (Post 73 – 82). Farouk was looking for further promotion but had not, by the end of the research project, been successful in this aim.

Schooling resulted in mortification of the Self, and some battled against this: informants like Mary, and Barry, before he took early retirement. Some accepted it like Derek, felt uncomfortable with it like Keith, who then largely withdrew from the classroom through promotion, and Farouk. Some gave up – Dennis, Gordon, Betty, and to some extent Sandy. Some in accordance with 'oneness', like Roger, Jenny and June – accommodated the teacher problematic. Gerry accommodated the problematic through the distancing function of the teacher role (Goffman in Layder 1994). Susan and Millicent, at the beginning of their careers were indicative of Huberman's (1992) survival and discovery stages. Having left *Churchcomp* for a sixth-form college by the time of the dissemination

day Susan expressed relief at not being constrained by what she considered the pettier aspects of schooling. Millicent, torn between the engagement and authoritarian images left for a teaching post in another school a year later. There was little evidence that, apart from Jenny and June, the informants collaborated. Informants wished to explore intrinsic as well as instrumental values of their subject, but Schooling, in particular the distorted instrumental value of the examination imperative and contingent pupil control, had a destructive effect upon the relationship between intrinsic and instrumental value. This was much more strongly felt in Science because of the positivist, fragmented approach to the subject, the over crowded curriculum, poor resources and large class sizes.

Chapter Nine

Reflections

Reflections on the findings

In the hermeneutic spirit of this enquiry it is appropriate to consider this final chapter reflections rather than conclusions. The aim is to suggest 'new meanings' and encourage 'further conversations' (Noddings 1995) in a research context that takes account of the specific cultures of the school (Spradley 1979). The intention is that these reflections suggest a way forward. These reflections begin with a return to the aims of the thesis.

The aims of the thesis

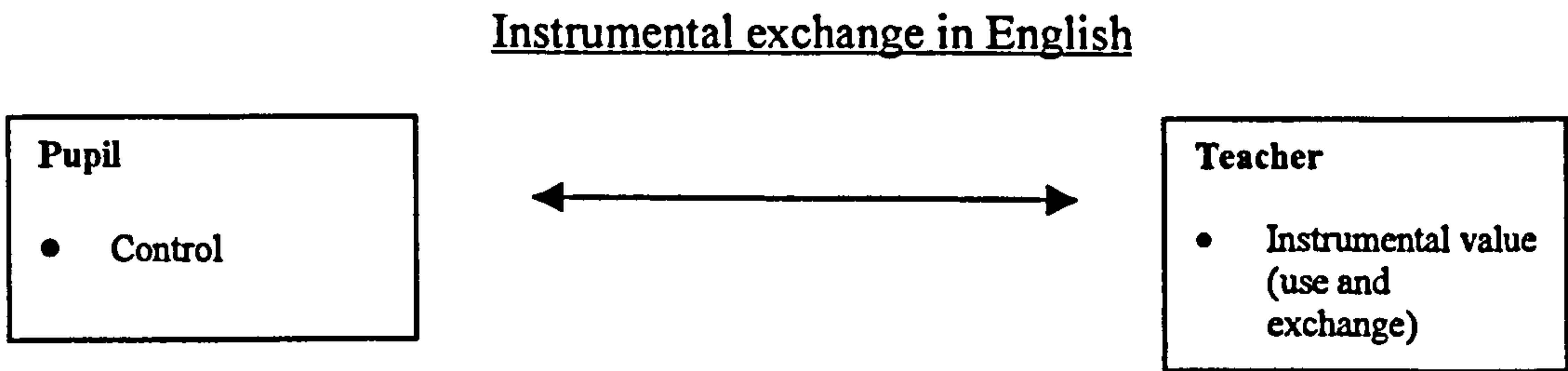
The study had two general aims; both addressed through the six research questions. These questions reveal four major findings: the distortion of instrumental value; the denial of intrinsic value; mortification; and the correspondence of teacher and pupil experience.

The first aim was to explore the nature of the teacher's experience of teaching their subject. This thesis discovers that teachers draw upon four contexts to interpret the value of their teaching experience. Two of these values contexts, Subject and Pupils, receive little or no recognition from the QCA (1997). The third context, Schooling, is dominant, and reaches deep into the subject teacher's classroom. Schooling is frequently in struggle with the fourth context of Self. One significant consequence of these tensions is to deny intrinsic value, and distort instrumental value, leading to mortification of the teacher informants.

The second aim was to investigate the relationship between values and disengagement. It is clear that the denial and distortion of values, and the mortification that ensues contribute to teacher disengagement. The prescriptive nature of the pedagogical relationship leads to antagonistic relationships between teachers and pupils that further prevent engagement with the values of the subject. This is significant because it is the subject that lies at the heart of teachers' motivation to teach. It is the correspondence of pupil and teacher experience of mortification and denied and distorted values that construct the strained social relationships to be found in this data.

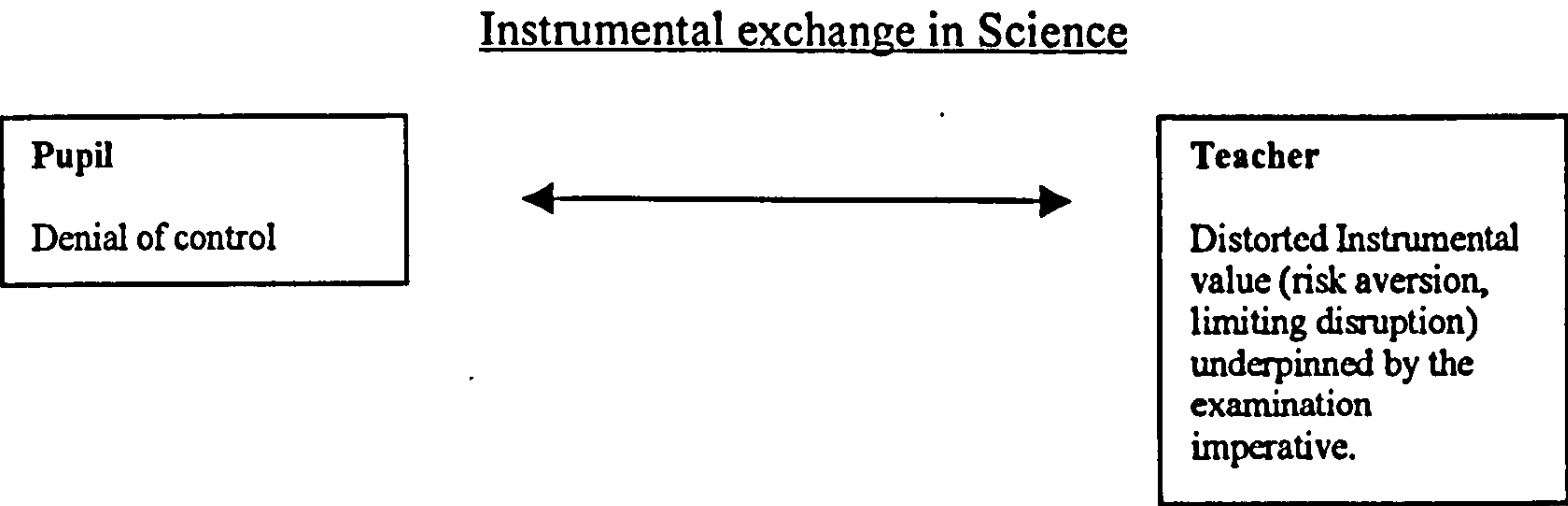
Finding one: Distortion of instrumental value.

In order to understand the nature of the social relationship within the subject classroom the teacher exchange of Willis (1977) is adapted. Willis talked of an exchange of teacher knowledge for pupil control. This exchange is examined in the different cultures of English and Science.



This exchange takes place in the English classes in the sample, with the exception of Sandy's where the exchange was similar to that found in the Science classes. In Sandy's class her pupils reacted to the pre-GCSE certificate in a way that suggested that there was little exchange value in the qualification. In addition, the study of Shakespeare, despite Sandy's reliance upon the cultural capital argument, was not seen by pupils to have use value for them. They therefore were reluctant to offer control to Sandy. This, compounded

by a lack of intrinsic value, led to frustration and disengagement for both teacher and pupils. In the other English classrooms the use of language was seen to offer use value, and the possibility of the ‘C’ grade at GCSE was thought to be a possibility for a ‘critical mass’ of students. At *Engirl* they left tiering decisions until the last moment. In this way pupils were prepared to offer control for instrumental value.



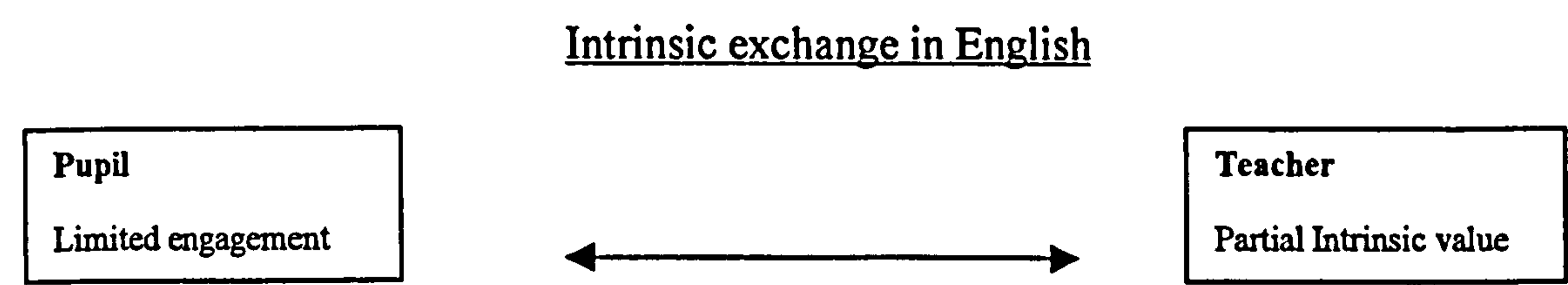
In Science, an overcrowded curriculum that ignores issues such as genetics, psychology, and the effects of vaccines is not seen to have use value, and many students feel that they are not going to gain worthwhile exchange value through examination.

The commodification (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Hargreaves 1982; Apple 1995) of education is more in evidence today than at the time Willis wrote, intensified by a barrage of educational legislation and an associated culture of assessment and accountability. This dominant exchange, the examination imperative, gets in the way of a deeper, more satisfying engagement with education. Communication between teachers and with pupils is strategic. Both groups have been found to disengage: teachers withdraw and become defensive, not unlike pupils, resorting to a distorted instrumental value, focused on classroom control and the avoidance of disruption. Teachers and pupils who are ‘successful’ often pursue results alone, like Dennis. Others disrupt lessons, like Keith and

his constant reference to the syllabus, or absent themselves from the classroom, like Gordon and ultimately Dennis' departure.

Finding two: Denial of intrinsic value.

Hargreaves (1967) described a situation of pupil failure, teacher incompetence and low expectations. He explained this in terms of an inappropriate intellectual/cognitive curriculum (1982) and adherence to examination success as an imperative. It is argued here that pupils and teachers prefer a more satisfying educational exchange which, whilst addressing the needs of pupils, does not preclude the intellectual/cognitive domain. The development of strategic communication and self-mortification amongst teachers are crucial to the reproduction of a teaching exchange that denies intrinsic value.



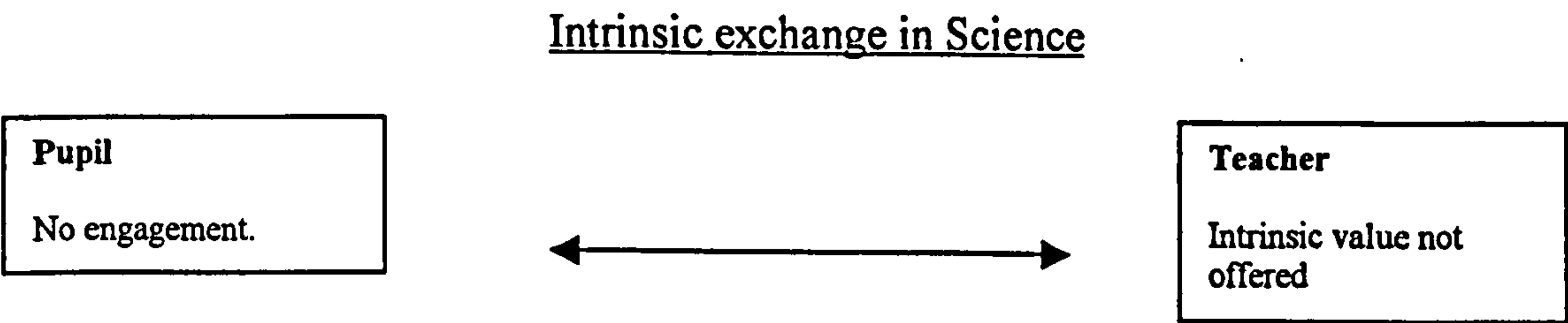
Evidence indicates that current expectations and practices prevent deeper, more challenging, more meaningful exchanges, except in the more communicative English classrooms of *Engirl*, and through the personality and pedagogical skill of Roger in *Co-edcomp*. The engagement of teachers and pupils in intrinsic values are not simply prevented by the intensification of the working day (Hargreaves, A 1994) and an overcrowded curriculum driven by the examination imperative. Intrusive rules and conventions associated with the roles of teacher and pupil, exemplified in manipulative

(strategic) communication and mortification has a tendency to leave teachers and pupils exhausted and disengaged.

The preferred model of intrinsic exchange implies the engagement of a diversity of ideas, as both pupils and teachers contribute to those values that offer intrinsic value, not the imposition of ‘shared values’ onto a ‘captured mind’. To quote Barry:

truth is arrived at by combat, not by “ here is the way you must express yourself” (Pre 99)

In English the circumstances of Self, Subject and Pupils combine to allow partial engagement with intrinsic value, despite the constant struggle with the intrusive and disruptive influences of Schooling. In Science the combination of Self, Subject and Pupils does not combat the effects of Schooling. In the Science sample intrinsic exchange is not implemented.



The practice of deferred gratification underpins the school experience. This is particularly the case in Science. Intrinsic value for the large part lay somewhere in the future, after the achievement of examination success and the assumed rewards that this will bring. Teacher experience is centred on the production of this examination success. Pleasure and purpose are delayed for teachers and pupils. Satisfaction, pleasure, and enjoyment are unacceptable pursuits in the context of an externally imposed, administered and evaluated curriculum and public examination system. Farouk’s pupils encapsulate this sense of frustration.

P2 I'm not into weighing copper bits and blowing things up and that. That's not me. P4 Yeah, but you don't blow things up. That's what's so boring about it. P3 Yeah, all we do is watch. P4 Sometimes when you do the experiments it gets so boring. You think, why bother, people have done this so many times. You don't learn anything new. (Pupil 31 – 60)

There is pretence that experiments are about finding things out, about curiosity, and the pursuit of knowledge. This is communicated strategically. There is an attempt to manipulate pupils, but Farouk's pupils, like so many in the sample are not happy to be manipulated. The consequence is disengagement from intrinsic values and recourse to distorted instrumental value, particularly in Science.

The distortion of instrumental value, and the denial of intrinsic value, has a damaging effect on the self-image of teacher informants. Mary, Betty, Dennis, Barry and Gordon all talk openly about the negative images they have of teachers. They do not intrinsically value what being a teacher means to them.

Finding three: Mortification.

Two important contexts remain unrecognised in the QCA consideration of values. Subject, especially in Science, is seen to be largely value free, and there is a tendency to see Pupils simply as 'minds to be captured'. This denies the reality of the values contexts that shape the values of teachers, and reinforces mortification.

Mortification is the stripping out of certain aspects of the Self. For example, friendship, honesty in relationships, dignity, pleasure, satisfaction, sympathy, understanding, autonomy, contemplation, enjoyment; what could be described as intrinsic values, are denied the teacher informants, and they, through Schooling, attempt to deny many of these

same values to the pupil: the captured mind. In this way there is a correspondence of experience for pupils and teachers. Mary thinks that teaching de-humanises, Betty that teaching can be demoralising, Dennis that teaching is lonely, Barry that the world of the teacher is a small world, Gordon that teachers lack respect for each other. Mortification is resisted by some, accommodated by others, but damaging to the teaching experience.

Mortification, derived from the needs of technical rationality, is reinforced through strategic action (Habermas 1981) and a forced consensus surrounding the examination imperative. It reproduces technical rationality in the next generation of schoolteachers. This mortification undermines respect, the teacher and the values of curiosity and exploration. The examination imperative distorts instrumental value and weakens engagement with the intrinsic. In Science, an overcrowded curriculum, poor resources, large classes and a positivistic approach to the subject aggravate the problems.

With the exception of *Engirl* the informants reflect Nias' (1989) findings that the opportunity for communicative action, for teachers to develop shared understanding of values central to education is denied by their occupational experiences. This is not true of all informants, and not true of some informants all of the time. But, it is a large part of the experiences of many informants, and for a significant part of their occupational experience.

Finding four: Correspondence of teacher and pupil experience.

The informants' occupational experience is deeply dissatisfying, but a resolution of this dissatisfaction may lay in the common aspirations of pupils and teachers, in the correspondence of their experiences, and perhaps more importantly, correspondence of interest in satisfying instrumental and intrinsic value through subject study. The methodology intended to use the pupil interviews to expose contradictions within teacher values. Pupil comments did reveal contradiction, but they also revealed dissatisfaction with the aims and processes of schooling shared by a number of teacher informants. Looking at the similarities, as well as the differences reveals a more complex insight into the quiet despair of many teachers than Hargreaves' (1982) acknowledged caricature, epitomised by an obsession with time, correct answers, and survival, offers.

The use of Dewey's (1916) concepts of instrumental and intrinsic values identified a problem at the heart of our schools. Informants, teachers and pupils wanted a deeper level of experience than that identified by Willis (1977) as the teaching exchange. In this exchange pupils offer control of the classroom to the teacher in exchange for 'knowledge', this is currently refined as 'examination success'. Examination success is an instrumental value (exchange value), for although there is pleasure in the achievement of exam success, and can offer an intrinsic value for some, for the main part examination success is considered a stepping stone to other values, a means to an end. Many pupils, of course, do not achieve 'exam success' and for them there is no instrumental value (exchange value). For many pupils there is also no instrumental value in the form of use value. Pupils do not accept, for example, that the ability to use scientific equipment, or knowledge of the blast furnace in Science, or knowledge of Shakespeare in Sandy's English lesson is useful

subject study. This undermines subject study and leads to teacher concern with disruptive behaviour. The result, particularly in Science is a distorted form of instrumental value that fails to connect with intrinsic or instrumental value for either teacher or pupil. Pupils and teachers responded with passivity, obedience, and mortification. Pupils were bored (Mary's, Gordon's) but so were teachers (Dennis, Betty). In a number of cases pupils and teachers responded with disruptive behaviour. Pupils justified this in terms of alternative values systems, such as peer group support (Farouk's pupils). Teachers disrupted learning through constant stopping of the lesson to check on the syllabus (Keith); by absence from classes (Gordon, Dennis, Sandy, Mary), as a result of illness or a desire to leave teaching. The pupil equivalent of this was truancy (Derek's pupils). Teachers and pupils have a correspondence of experience. The challenge is to develop occupational practices that reflect teachers' and pupils' corresponding interest in a teaching exchange based upon instrumental and intrinsic value.

Implications of the findings for the research community

A way forward lies in longitudinal research, immersed in classroom life, and teachers' careers, research that sadly belongs to a 'golden age'. It is this type of work carried out by Lacey (1970), Hargreaves (1967; 1982), Willis (1979), Woods (1979), Nias (1989) that begins to explain the link between occupational experience, teacher values and the effect of this on the Self. Future research needs to break away from the 'audit culture' and to offer more evaluative work (Stronach 2002).

The work of the 'golden age' needs to be built upon. Immersion and longitudinal study can explore the values of teachers and pupils in a period of centralised target setting, and

disintegrating cultural certainties. Rather than looking for the shared or contradictory nature of values future research needs to explore the sense and meanings of values created by cultural and environmental contexts, within and out of school, faced by two groups who share many common aims and experiences. Once these senses and meanings are recognised then the relationship between a modified teaching exchange and teacher engagement can be more fully explored.

Implications of the findings for policy development and implementation

The findings indicate that teachers and pupils value a richer, deeper experience built upon values of curiosity and exploration. Out of this teachers and pupils can modify the norms of pupil and teacher behaviour and develop respect for each other and themselves.

The policy recommendations of SCAA (1996) and Talbot and Tate (2000) that schools identify their values, implement, monitor and reward achievement misunderstands the nature of values. Values develop and change dependent upon the context of Self, Schooling, Subject, and Pupils. Values cannot be implemented at a stroke, they have to be engaged through communicative action, where meaning can be explored by pupils and teachers. Talbot and Tate's policy recommendation simply strengthens the context of Schooling in the authoritarian way that has been shown to cause such disruption to pupil learning and pupil and teacher engagement with subject study. Brighouse's 'shared value system' should emphasise a system of values engagement rather than the agreement of a system of values.

Teachers are able to engage with intrinsic values in English, and as Poppleton (1989) has identified, satisfaction of the intrinsic goes some way to reducing stress. In Science, Huberman's (1992) 'cohorts of teachers who disengage....or who made no attempt to change instructional practices, which they themselves judged to be problematic' was more in evidence. Addressing the exclusion of values from Subject and pupil, or the Pupil context as it is addressed in this thesis, would go some way to addressing the problem of teacher and pupil disengagement. However, the problem also lies with Schooling. It lies with the examination imperative that crowds out intrinsic value. It lies with an outdated and overcrowded curriculum in Science. It lies with cramped and poorly resourced Science laboratories. It lies with the authoritarian nature of Schooling. If these do not change as well then teachers will still have to battle against pupil resentment of what they see as double standards, particularly with those classes who do not accept that the curriculum offers them the opportunity to gain instrumental value. Recognition that teachers and pupils have a common interest in exploring values meanings is a more useful paradigm than one of conflict in overcoming the debilitating effects of mortification.

Tensions arise from the nature of Schooling and the curriculum. Pupils play truant (TES 2003a) and teachers leave teaching (TES 2003b). A number of recent initiatives offer opportunities to address the mortifying effects of the Schooling context. The 14 – 19 initiative (DfES 2003), the RSA 'Opening Minds Pilot Schools' (RSA 2003) and proposals for another new Science curriculum (ASE 2003), in combination offer the chance to treat 14 – 16 year-olds as young people, rather than as minds to be captured (Schostak 1984). They offer the chance to link learning to curiosity and exploration, without the artificial limitation of age and subject boundaries. They offer a relaxation of

the over filled Science *for* scientists curriculum. They are indications of a possible change in attitude at policy level to over prescription and lack of trust in teachers and pupils, evident since 1988. The challenge now is for teachers to seize the opportunities and not to resort to the safety first culture that has been prescribed for so long.

Reflections on methodology

This thesis generates a number of analytical concepts: the values contexts of Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils; the research values of respect, teacher, curiosity and exploration; attendant values, derived from context characteristics, and the attendant values of the legitimate curriculum and state and political interests. Instrumental and intrinsic values, the teaching exchange, were also further developed. These concepts can be used to further examine the nature of values within a range of educational settings. The challenge is to develop similar analytical concepts for influences external to the education environment.

This thesis drew upon two different samples for the two phases of the research. Using one sample for both phases of data collection would have meant more consistent analysis across the three stages. Instead, phase one data was used for stage one analysis, and phase two data was used for stages two and three of the analysis. For example, communication emerged as a research value from phase one data, but remained relatively undeveloped although it continued to be an important issue in stages two and three of the analysis, and relied upon Habermas' (1981) communicative action and strategic action. The communication of teachers, particularly with each other, is an area ripe for further study.

Words, phrases of significance, were, on occasions, left unexplored in deference to the informants, and because of a deification of the interview schedule, particularly in the earlier interviews. Future research should follow up more rigorously the underlying issues: mortification of essential aspects of the Self; stress; absence; motives for leaving; reasons for returning to teaching; stabilisation; discovery; motivation. Connected to this,

longitudinal study is essential. Following an informant over a period of time, a number of years would be valuable. Often issues raised in interview would provoke an initial response when the informant would admit afterwards that this was the first time they had ever thought of the issues. Dennis is a good case in point, but Susan and Gordon would also come into this category. The researcher did not wish to be too intrusive and so the informants were not asked their views on other informants. If anonymity, trust and rapport could be maintained this could have offered further insight, such as Mary's views of Sandy, or Gordon of Derek.

The different types of dilemma could have distinguished between those dilemmas that caused real stress, as opposed to those that were just a difficulty that could be overcome. Dilemma analysis could have followed the methodology of Winter (1982) more closely if the lack of previous research in this area had not demanded a necessarily heuristic approach.

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Appendix 1

Statement of the researcher's values

This section declares the values of the researcher in order for the reader to identify potential bias in the work (Peshkin 1988). Halliday (2002) argues that researchers should produce an overall account of the research process so that the researcher's cares and interests are made plain for all to see. If this does not happen then there can be a tendency to 'misrepresent values for the sake of social desirability'. On the other hand, the researcher risks being accused of 'priggishness, tendentiousness or sanctimony' (p. 60) if they attempt to do this. However, Halliday also argues that current limitations of research language and convention should not, in a study of values, prevent an articulation of the researcher's values. In the spirit of openness there follows a statement of the researcher's values. It is written in the third person in order to sustain reflexivity.

The researcher's values developed within a liberal democratic environment, respecting a pluralist, multi-cultural society. Prior to teacher training these values were challenged by what could be loosely termed neo-Marxist views associated with the 'New Left' of the 1960s. Historical materialism and class conflict were a cornerstone of his beliefs, and notions of hegemony and alienation permeated the researcher's own understanding of his working environment during 14 years as a 'classroom teacher' of Economics and subsequently of Business Studies. The researcher taught in three separate, state-funded, local education authority controlled (prior to ERA) and LMS (post ERA) secondary schools.

The major world political changes at the end of the 1980s caused the researcher to reconsider all his previously held neo-Marxist views, and left him open to new ideas. This was a liberating experience, as the researcher could then view the world as it was, and not as it should be according to a Marxist cannon. The researcher, therefore, approached the opportunity to investigate 'why teachers did what they did' in the mid 1990s with an open, some would say, empiricist mind. Professor Cullingford was particularly helpful with this approach. The early work, particularly phase one, was undertaken with this perspective, using thematic induction to identify the major themes of the data. After the data collection, and the early analysis at the end of phase one, a new phase of reading was undertaken. The purpose was partly to further explore the data by creating more distance, in effect using a different lens, and partly for triangulation purposes.

The work of Marcuse (1972) and technical rationality introduced the researcher to a deeper understanding of the constraining nature of culture. This insight led to further, brief encounters with, and the reading of 'primers' on, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Sartre, Habermas, Bourdieu and Foucault, amongst others. Many of the concepts and ideas of these thinkers have left but a faint impression, but the combined effect was to shift the thinking of the researcher away from monolithic notions of class conflict based on economic interest towards an appreciation of the subtler nuances of cultural life.

It was the work of Willis (1977) that drew attention back to the relevance of neo-Marxists with his concepts of penetration, limitation and the teaching paradigm. He also drew attention to the 'commodification' of knowledge. It was during this phase that the researcher approached Prof. Somekh with a view to seeking funding to allow the

researcher greater access to teachers and their classrooms. Professor Somekh recommended the work of Winter (1982), and in particular the dilemma, as a suitable approach to analysis. During the data collection and data analysis of phase two the reading continued. The dialectical nature of the dilemma method, combined with the resonance of Willis in pupil data, and the emerging issues of isolation in the teacher data, drew attention to the nature of social relations in the school and to the work of two neo-Marxists in particular, Bowles and Gintis (1976). A close reading of this work revealed that it was not as deterministic and insensitive to 'uneven development' as some critics have suggested.

Critical theorists, particularly those who could use the insights of the postmodernists to augment the work of other 'conflict theorists' gave an extra dimension to the researchers perspective on values. Giroux (1983 p 43) in particular made the link, helped by an eclectic range of other reading, such as Williams (1973), Hall (1981), and other cultural theorists.

The researcher's views have returned to a perspective that is based on 'conflict theorists', ranging from those such as Foucault (1977, 1980, 1984), through Williams (1973) to the likes of Apple (1995) and Althusser (1971). During the journey of the last 6 years the dogma attached to the inevitability of class conflict, driven by economic determinism, has weakened and the concepts of resistance, opposition and culture have been broadened. The ideas of those mentioned here, and others are to be found in the references and bibliography of the thesis, and some are highlighted in the sensitising concepts to be found towards the end of Chapter Two.

The reference to 'conflict theorists' is idiosyncratic. It is used in quotation marks to denote the eclectic nature of the perspective, combining, as it does, the paradigms of neo-Marxists, critical theorists, postmodernists, and those who defy categorisation, but share an understanding that the social world is created by competing interest.

Appendix 2

Sensitising concepts

Sensitising Concepts	
Accommodation	Solving, or riding of problems thrown up by school so as to neutralise the threat to the teacher. Frequently, problems are explained away as benefits. After Woods (1979)
Action, communicative	After Habermas (1981): sincere, intelligible, appropriate and true language.
Action, strategic	After Habermas (1981): goal orientated, manipulative language.
Agency	After Giroux (1983): the role of human consciousness in determining human action.
Alienation	Estrangement from environment due to over regulation (Lawton 2000) – after Marx
Anomie	Estrangement from environment as a result of under regulation (Lawton 2000) -after Durkheim)
Beliefs	After Selmes (1993): underlying convictions that determine what is valued. An imaginative leap of faith beyond which is known.
Capital, cultural	After Bourdieu and Passeron (1990): 'objectified' in terms of cultural goods, or 'institutional', in terms of certification.
Capital, social	After Bourdieu and Passeron (1990): the resources (including values) of groups, such as the family, school or university.
Commodification of education	After Bowles and Gintis (1976), Hargreaves (1982): schools knowledge as exchange value. Linked to Apple's (1995) 'technocratic meritocracy'.
Correspondence principle	After Bowles and Gintis (1976) Social relations of the school reflect the social relations of capitalist production.
Culture	After Lawton (2000) to include the beliefs, values and behaviour of teachers and after Spradley (1979) culture provides teachers with ways of seeing the world.
Dignity	After Hargreaves (1982). Making a contribution to, and being valued by the group to which he or she belongs.
Dilemma	After Marx and Engels (1968): linked to the differing interests of social classes reflected, for example, in conflict between 'past values' and 'current values'.
Dispersed power	After Foucault (1980): power does not reside with a single dominant group or agent.
Engagement/disengagement	After Huberman (1992). Engagement would typically have values of enthusiasm, discovery, commitment, experimentation, reflection. The latter deriving from 'serene disengagement'. Disengagement is associated with the values associated with Huberman's 'bitter disengagement': resentment, fatigue, blame, other interests.
Habitus, professional	After Tripp (1993): an unconscious and unexamined value which had been taken for granted or 'lived' rather than having been questioned as rationally thought through.
Hegemony	After Gramsci (1971): reconciliation of competing ideologies to a dominant ideology. Social control through norms and imperatives.
Hidden Curriculum	After Giroux (1983): those unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom life. In this work the

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	Hidden Curriculum is interpreted as the practice of schooling.
Imperatives	After Gramsci (1971): authoritative advice, actions, that take precedence over other ideas.
Legitimate curriculum	Legitimizes a common culture (Aronowitz and Giroux 1993). Schools sort and select students to create a hierarchical student body, and the curriculum legitimates the forms necessary to do this (Apple 1995)
Mortification	After Woods (1979) The aim of mortification is to strip the pupils (<i>teachers</i>) of certain parts of themselves. It attacks the substantial self (Nias 1989b). This often reduces dignity and creates alienation.
Multiple selves	After Goffman and Foucault in Layder (1994): individuals act out different roles in different aspect of their lives. This disputes the notion of a 'centred unity' dealing with the world as a complete rational agent. (Sikes, Measor, Woods (1985) Hargreaves (1982)
Norms	After Gramsci (1971): authoritative standards, or types that embody ideas.
Oppositional behaviour	After McRobbie (1978), Giroux (1983). An incomplete critique of society. limitation of penetration of ideology. Constraints include sexism, racism, sexual preferences.
Penetration	After Willis (1977): exploration of the ideology underlying the hidden curriculum. (Limitations of penetration – see oppositional behaviour)
Positivism	After Giroux (1997): based on methods of the natural sciences, associated with value free science, and means rather than ends.
Professionalism:	A contentious term has a 'heuristic function' Hoyle (2001) After Sachs and Smith (2001), Whitty (2000), two basic ideologies: new and old. Old professionals associated with the following values: democratic, humanist, autonomous, ethical. New professionals are associated with technocratic, meritocratic, managerial, entrepreneurial values.
Reproduction	After Bourdieu and Passeron (1990): where the social conditions required by the prevailing ideology are reproduced. This reproduction is not simply the result of the dominance of hegemonic ideology but is also due to the opposition and resistances of people who wish to assert some control over their working conditions, and who wish to reassert their humanity and work within their own 'informal norms'.
Resistance	After Giroux (1983): A values position that has little to do with the logic of deviance, individual pathology, learned helplessness (and of course genetic explanations) and a great deal to do, though not exhaustively, with the logic of moral indignation.
Schooling	After Giroux (1983): is distinct from education and takes place within institutions that serve the interests of the state. Formal institutions are linked by funding or certification. In this work the practice of schooling is described as the Hidden Curriculum
Self, situational	An essential or 'centred unity' is not a concern of this work (Foucault in Layder (1984)). To reduce tension individuals act out different roles in different aspects of their lives (Sikes, Measor, Woods 1985) It is the situational (Nias 1989a) or public self that is explored in this work. More specifically, the self is located within the institutions of the education system (Bowles and Gintis 1976)
Self, substantial	After Nias (1989b) an inner core that is persistently

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	defended and highly resistant to change. It comprises the most highly prized aspects of the self concept.
Structuration (duality)	After Giddens (1976): structure and individual action are two sides of the same coin: structure is not external to action. The things that people regularly do form part of the social fabric of their lives.
Structure	After Althusser (1971): the economic base of society and its cultural and social superstructure
Teacher problematic	After Sachs and Smith (1988). Tensions faced by teachers. The demands of schooling requires teachers to develop survival and coping strategies Dominating this whole process is the perception that the exercise of authority is central to the role of a teacher.
Teaching paradigm/ teaching exchange	After Willis (1977): pupils offer control to the teachers in return for instrumental value (exams, references etc). Takes the form of the teaching exchange.
Technical Rationality	After Marcuse (1972): philosophy that denies the freedom of the individual to determine their own life. This 'unfreedom' does not appear political or irrational, but submits to the logic of a technology that enlarges material comforts.
Values	After Dewey (1966), a value is 'something' that is prized, or esteemed. Educational values are often coincidental with educational aims.
Values, exchange	After Marx and Engels (1968) and Dewey (1966). A form of instrumental value. Exchange values give access to employment or further study.
Values, instrumental	After Dewey (1966): means to a further end.
Values, intrinsic	After Dewey (1966): ends that have worth in themselves.
Values, use	After Marx and Engels (1968) and Dewey (1966). A form of instrumental value. Use value has a practical, immediate application for some other purpose.

Appendix 3 (a)

Problems and issues associated with the research design

This section addresses the research design difficulties posed by an exploration of the research questions. Some of the issues raised here are only partially resolved in phase one of the research. The original research design was substantially changed in the light of the experiences of data collection in the first phase. It has been pointed out that the data after phase one was indicative of technical rationality, or weaknesses in research design, or both. It was during the intermediate phase, between phases one and two, that the benefits of involving informants more actively, became apparent.

Validity and Reliability

Qualitative research can be charged with a lack of rigour and bias (Charmaz 2001): meaning and interpretation require interpretative frameworks that are not shared by all. This work has been at pains to stress the values position of the researcher, and the interpretative framework that underpins the methodology. The question then remains, is the work valid and reliable within this framework?

Interviews have been chosen because of the potential for insight into the classroom world. The interview generates a 'kind of conversation' (Kitwood 1977) where the interviewer tries to put the interviewee at ease by using those 'human' aspects that those of the positivist persuasion would like to have removed (Cohen and Manion 1989; Selltiz, Jahoda, et. al 1964).

Bloor (1997) argues that it is dangerous for the qualitative researcher to claim that they can replicate findings in the social world. This is because of its dynamic nature.

Triangulation should be viewed as an opportunity to 'throw fresh light on the investigation and provide a spur for deeper and richer analysis' (p 49).

Whilst Charmaz (2001) asserts that validity, truth and generalisability are 'outmoded concepts' it is not argued here that validity and reliability should be removed from the methodology. There is a 'judicious compromise' to be made between reliability and validity which involves a trade off between them. A research method that requires the building of trust through a 'sustained relationship between the informant and the researcher' (Burgess 1980), between interviewer and interviewee cannot remove all elements of human reaction, nor avoid skipping questions when they have already been answered (Silverman 1993). The compromise is that of the semi-structured interview, that offers the prospect of reliability with the transparency of method that endorses validity. The semi-structured interview pursues repetition on a range of sites, and provides a framework of questions that can be reviewed more easily for its validity.

Is the method reliable in phase one?

This first phase was simpler in its construction, and more limited in its complexity than the data in the second phase. In the first phase the questions were more heavily structured and more 'objectively' presented. The questions were added to after the interviews at *Southside* and before those at *Northside*. In particular, a direct question was asked about the teacher's values, a question absent from *Southside*. However, the questions if repeated would, it is contended, elicit similar responses. This is precisely because the questions

were non-threatening in their nature, and the informants could view the interviews as a 'one off' that reduced the pressure to provide coherent and socially acceptable accounts (Fontana and Frey 2001).

Is the method valid in phase one?

The limited nature of the interviews, between 30 and 60 minutes, and the lack of follow up research, does raise questions as to the validity of the research in this phase. But, rather than undermine the stated findings, the research method makes any wider, deeper or more complex claims invalid. For this reason, the more culturally dependent inferences are raised as research questions in this phase.

Phase one addresses the first research question: what are the values that concern teachers? The first finding, and the more easily validated, is that whilst teachers, in the two schools, reflect the values of the QCA statement, they also value their subject highly. Yet, the QCA, in their statement of values, does not consider the values of the subject to be worthy of re-examination by teachers. The second, more complex finding, is that teachers articulate different interpretations of mutually recognised values, which calls into question whether they are shared. The research questions generated by this second finding are explored in phase two.

After the first phase the relevance of dilemma analysis to the work became apparent in the light of the tension found in the teachers' exploration of values. How the dilemmas, in their complexity, were to be constructed was not to become apparent until the dissemination and reflection phase, after completion of phase two of the data collection. In

the light of this experience the data from phase one was returned to, in order to re-define the ground and identify the relevant parts of the culture (Spradley 1979). The relevant parts are Self, Schooling, Subject and Pupils. These four contexts are presented as heuristic devices, not as an attempt to categorise, or classify the teachers' influences. They are developed for the purposes of dilemma organisation in stage two of the analytical process.

Is the method reliable in phase two?

If reliability demands that repetition of the interview questions by another researcher would elicit the same answer, then the research in this phase could possibly fail that test. However, if the question of reliability is aimed at the research process, then a process of pre observation interview, observation of lesson, and post observation interview would reveal the same dilemmas that Altrichter, Posch, Somekh. (1993) refer to in the 'ladder of inference' as culturally shared. Another teacher, who recognised the importance of the work of the 'conflict theorists', would, in other words, observe these same dilemmas.

Is the method valid in phase two?

Do the research methods employed address the research questions? The research in the second phase was designed to further explore the first research question. This question sought to reveal the values that concern teachers. Phase two was concerned with extending our knowledge of these values through the research questions derived from phase one and the literature reviewed in Chapter Two.

The second research question considers whether teachers' values are characterised by contradiction. The methodology involves post and pre observation interviews, observation of the class, followed by interviews with a teacher-researcher selected sample of four or five pupils. Whether the data presented is valid hinges on the quality and quantity of data presented. Clearly, a certain degree of triangulation contributes to the validity of this research question's data. A number of informants' views are presented to secure validity. In a small number of cases one teacher may be referred to which reveal tension which is more explicitly evident in pupil data. This also applies to the other research questions, and from this point will be taken as read in terms of the strength of the claims for validity.

The third question asks how occupational experience affects teacher values. The observation of the lesson and the pupils' views are central to this question. The interviewer's tendency to idealise or 'celebrate' (Stronach and MacLure 1997) informant views can distort the data, but the practice as evidenced in observation and the experiences of pupils will provide information about the manner in which the daily business of life modifies teachers' values. Question four considers ways in which the culture of the school and the subject, and the approaches of individual teachers, can affect the transmission of teacher values. The small size of the sample makes generalisation unsafe. The largest group of teachers in any one school is four, and the largest subject group in any one school is two. When data from phase one reflects findings from phase two it is referred to in order to further explore their implications. The question, rather than make claims of generalisation, identifies issues that require further research. The question reveals important issues surrounding the influence of the school, the subject and the teacher. The

questions contribute to our understanding of how individual schools, and subjects can make a significant difference to the values experiences of teachers, and pupils.

Question five critically reviews the conflict model used in the interpretative framework, and suggests that there are behaviours indicative of values common to pupils and teachers. Validity here, as we have already explained, depends upon evidence drawn across sites.

Question six is most susceptible to charges of speculation and individual inference, but lies at the heart of the two research problems. Thus, this account of research design, data collection and analysis strives for detail, and transparency.

Can we trust the teachers' voice?

We have already come across Goodson's (1992, 1994) recommendation that we explore the teacher's voice because of its potential for revealing what happens in the heart of our classrooms. But, there are a number of problems associated with this method.

Sikes (2000) argues that there are a number of difficulties that undermine notions of truth, and that consequently researchers should be cautious in their claims for such research. She offers a number of reasons for this: the informant may misunderstand the question, poorly articulate their views, embellish them in the interests of coherence, or simply lie. She quotes Giroux's assertion that 'methodological correctness' can never guarantee 'valid data' because it can lead to the 'consequent neglect of the dynamics of human life and the implications of social relationships.' Sikes recommends that researchers should be 'explicitly cautious and provisional in their writing' because they are effectively 'creating

a particular story.’ This thesis presents a type of truth that can be validated, whilst agreeing that the findings should be cautiously viewed as provisional, and as an invitation to further exploration.

Goodson (1992) himself warns against using teacher practice as a starting point for an exploration because teachers often feel vulnerable in this situation and may not be very forthcoming, or even ‘defensive’ in their answers. However, literature on the de-centred/situational/public self suggests that research should explore this role, rather than looking for a deeper centred/substantial self. This appears to be the first problem for the research design: How to explore ‘the teacher’, without provoking a defensive response?

This is an opportunity, rather than a threat. If, indeed teachers are defensive about practice then this is one of the issues surrounding teacher values that needs to be explored. The question really is not how to avoid this response, but how to explore it if it were to arise? Indeed, research into values is intrusive, and exploring underlying values that may not be considered socially fashionable is a similar issue. How to reveal underlying values that teachers are reluctant to express?

Halliday (2002) argues that it is important for the researcher to engage in a ‘shared way of life’ with the informant and to involve them in the research in order to interpret data in a meaningful way. Halliday, referring to Habermas, says that this means that the research design must be inclusive of those who are researched, without privileging the subject’s account. As with other issues, the researcher’s approach to a ‘shared way of life’ was not as developed in phase one as in phase two. It is explained below that the background of

the researcher was considered important, whereas in phase two it was recognised that this was not sufficient, and the observation of lessons was considered to be more of a 'bond' than had been previously considered. In the second phase the researcher spent up to an hour with informants on at least four, sometimes as many as seven occasions in order to gather data, build up trust and validate findings.

The researcher must have control over interpretation of the data, but the informants must have the confidence inferences will be legitimate (Altrichter, Posch and Somekh, 1993). It is important that the informants have confidence that the researcher will not exploit confidences, that anonymity will be maintained. The researcher can be too close to the informants and they must not put words into teachers' mouths, but the fact that the researcher is an experienced classroom teacher of fourteen years can be used to demonstrate a 'shared way of life'. However, the researcher must maintain objectivity within the research process, and not pursue a hidden agenda. Of course, a danger resides here; projecting the researcher's feelings and values onto the informant's data.

There are a number of techniques that can be used to counter this including feedback from the informants, interpretation by supervisors, and information from a range of research sites. All can be invoked to ensure a degree of validity. However, such techniques, although valuable, can only partially address the bias that will be evident in a study of the issues arising from values research. The 'statement of the researcher's values' in Appendix one is important for the reader, so that they can identify subjectivity within the thesis.

For the informants, a statement of values of the researcher was not presented. In the first phase the researcher approached the data collection with no particular interpretative framework in mind. In the second phase a statement of the aims of the Gordon Cook Foundation research project, and the use of the data for a thesis, were discussed with the informants prior to agreement to participate. Various sensitising concepts were discussed with informants as they arose, but the interpretative framework was not presented as a model, as it was, and is still, developing. As Halliday says

Our understanding of our own values and the values of others is located in the stream of an ongoing series of fusions and horizons (p 54)

Understanding unfolds through further research (Bloor 1997), and the thesis represents a more advanced stage of understanding than was the case during data collection and early analysis. It was not until analysis was begun in phase two, that the link between dilemma analysis and the ‘conflict theorists’ was firmly established. Winter, after all, had tried to distance the dilemma method from such substantive theory. It was locking the dilemma analysis into the sensitising concepts of ‘conflict theory’ which provided greater consistency in the analysis.

This analysis does not offer certainty, but a type of truth. Truth is a slippery concept. In Tarnas’ (1991) exposition of the post-modern view of truth he emphasises that ‘there is no “true” meaning’. Tarnas explores truth in other parts of his book as mathematical, empiricist or humanist. Summarising the post-modern position he argues that:

The multiplicity of incommensurable human truths exposes and defeats the conventional assumption that the mind can progress ever forward to a nearer grasp of reality. Nothing certain can be said about the nature of truth, except perhaps that is, as Richard Rorty puts it, “what our peers will let us get away with saying.” (p 398)

De Bono (1996) postulates the mathematical, empiricist and humanist versions of truth in more straightforward language. This combination of De Bono's language and Tarnas' analysis summarises the thesis' claims to truth, which are largely based upon the accounts of the individual teachers, checked out against other teachers, and a way of seeing the data that confirms the interpretative framework of 'conflict theory.' In this thesis truth accords with observable data validated across a number of sites and informants, and an interpretative framework of sensitising concepts and analytical methods that provide an insight into their world that those within a shared cultural domain (Altrichter, Posch, Somekh 1993) would recognise. These types of truth are developing, and are therefore cautious and provisional.

Can we trust the researcher's analysis?

Finally, we return to the issue of reliability. The researcher conducted all the data collection, and analysed all of the data in phases one and two. Provisional findings were brought to the director of studies of the research degree on a regular basis. In addition, some of the initial findings derived from dilemma analysis in phase two were also brought to the manager of the GCF project, the advisory group and the informants. Initial findings derived from dilemma analysis relating to the research problems of the thesis were presented to the informants at the GCF dissemination day. Analysis presented in this thesis was then brought to second supervisors and the director of studies for advice. However, the process of analysis, and the final presentation of results in this was solely the work of the researcher.

Spradley argues (1979 p188) that inference is essential for making sense of cultural themes, because ‘most cultural themes remain at a tacit level of knowledge. People do not express them easily.’ Consequently, the analysis was structured and guided by the concept of inference derived from Argyris et. al. (Altrichter, Posch, Somekh 1993). This concept is presented as a ladder with three rungs. The first rung contains data that is ‘relatively unambiguous’. It is contested that much of the evidence presented in phase one is of this nature. However, it is also argued that intuition is used in this thesis when decisions were taken as to which data was presented as representing a value. This problem is addressed by concentrating upon that which is not covered by QCA (1997) values and arguing that this should be the basis for further research. Equally, at this stage other issues raised by the data are presented as research questions to be further investigated in phase two. In phase two much of the work is at level two: ‘culturally shared meaning’. It is argued that those who understand the cultural domain of secondary education would recognise that the dilemmas explore issues relevant to an investigation of secondary teachers’ relationship to shared values and occupational disengagement.

It is not argued in the thesis that the dilemmas explored here are the only ones. Nor, because of this, is it argued that they are the most significant. A different reader of the dilemmas, with different insight, perhaps at level three (‘meaning of the sentence for a specific listener’) may reveal different, and potentially more significant dilemmas. The researcher has tried to avoid inference at level three because, although the insight offered by immersion in the data collection and analysis can offer a perspective that is useful, it is difficult to verify.

Are we able to generalise from this research sample?

Sikes (2000) maintains that interviews are chosen as a method by those researchers who value the unique and subjective in the social world. This often means that a single researcher carries out much of this type of research. Because of the perspective of uniqueness it is not attractive to those who would like to generalise from research findings. The single researcher then compounds this uniqueness because of the practical implications of carrying out interviews by a single researcher. A single field researcher can carry out only a limited number of interviews, transcribe and analyse them, especially if this is conducted 'in and amongst' other responsibilities. Another consequence, in this instance, was that the interviews had to take place within West Yorkshire.

Another feature described by Sikes (2000) that is pertinent to this research is the biased nature of the sample. This is often the only practical way of getting a sample at all.

Interviewing and, later, observation and interviewing of pupils are necessarily intrusive. Recruiting participants by a single field researcher is time consuming and often requires the development of a relationship with the informant (often a pre-meeting) before an informant is willing to take part. The samples in both phases were drawn from schools where the field researcher already had a relationship with the school, but not necessarily the English or Science departments, through initial teacher training (ITT).

Cohen and Manion (1989) and Bell (1993) describe the different types of sample. In phase one the sample was stratified in terms of age, gender, and national curriculum subjects. It was also an opportunity sample, in that the nineteen participants were interviewed during the school day, and so selection depended upon availability and preparedness to take part.

In *Southside* and *Northside* there was also an element of snowballing, as the head teacher would make contact with those who they thought would take part.

In phase two the process was potentially more demanding of the informants, as they needed to be prepared to open themselves, their classrooms, and their pupils to an unknown researcher, and an intrusive purpose. Again, the sample was to some extent opportunistic and convenient. The sample was drawn from a cluster of five schools, and stratified in terms of age, gender, subjects (Science and English) and type of school (girls, boys, church, co-educational). The pupil sample was jointly selected with the teacher. A number of criteria were used: the teachers' understanding of the articulatedness (Sikes 2000) of the pupil, the pupils involvement in significant, or critical incidents in the classroom, as identified by the researcher; the desire for a stratified sample in terms of gender, ability, and motivation. Finally, of course, the pupils, to a certain degree, were self selecting as they had to be willing to take part.

Although it is inadvisable to generalise from research based on a small non-probability sample the work itself can make a worthwhile contribution both to the methods of interviewing and dilemma analysis, and to understanding of a slice of the social world. It can do this first of all by drawing out the shortcomings and advantages of these methods, and secondly by concentrating attention on issues that are worthy of further exploration. Further research would need to use a much larger, and a more representative sample than is used here if it were going to lead to substantial generalisation.

Interviewing and related issues

Dingwall (1997) identifies a number of difficulties associated with the interview, and he concludes that observation is a more fundamental discipline for social enquiry. In his critique of the 'romantic movement in ethnography' he explores assumptions that are made about the voice of the informant. The interviewer and interviewee present selves for the social occasion of the interview and therefore it is problematic for the researcher to discover the authentic voice. If there is no 'real' or 'authentic' world to be studied there is a danger that the researcher will feel justified in creating their own world. They will not question the integrity of their position.

This research addresses these points in the section on validity and reliability, so there is no need to develop here the way that the methodology deals with this in great detail, as that section can be referred to. This research accepts the constructed notion of self, and that the teacher and researcher will construct selves. Within these parameters it is possible to construct a 'type of truth' secured with reference to classroom observation - 'everyday life being brought into being' - and observable data from interviews with pupils and other teachers. Secondly, culturally shared inferences from the domain of education secures a 'type of truth' but not certainty. The method is predominantly that of the interview, with different sites and informants. There is also the peripheral use of lesson observation, to inform the post observation interviews. This process owes regard to Cicourel's (1973) notion of indefinite triangulation.

Fontana and Frey (2001) discuss the methods and characteristics of a range of interviewing techniques. They raise the issues and tensions attached to the structure versus

unstructured debate that were considered earlier (Halliday 2002. Sikes 2000). Two types of interview were used in this research. The first was of the semi-structured single informant type used during the pre-observation and post-observation interviews. The second was the group, or focus group interview used with the pupils. Issues common to both types of interview are discussed first.

The interviewer has to be aware that the manner in which they present themselves to the informants will affect the informants' view of the researcher and the research, and as a consequence this may affect the nature of their responses. The researcher chose to emphasise different aspects of their professional experience to teachers and pupils.

Dressed in jacket and tie, the researcher chose to emphasise to the teacher his experience of fourteen years in the classroom. He emphasised the role of the research in revealing the real nature of teachers' values and the classroom experience, and the impact this could ultimately have upon teaching and learning. With the pupils, still dressed in jacket and tie, the researcher emphasised his experience away from the classroom. On occasions pupils asked if the researcher was a teacher. The researcher simply replied 'no', as strictly speaking the researcher had not taught in school for a number of years.

One of the reasons for the researcher to respond in two separate ways was to build rapport with the informants. Rapport (Cicourel 1964; Fontana & Frey 2001, Spradley 1979) requires the researcher to see the situation from the informants' viewpoint without becoming a spokesperson for the group. The researcher's background in teaching provided some insight. Reading, and reference to Professor Cullingford and Professor Somekh offered a more dispassionate filter with which to view informant responses and

encouraged a level of dispassionate reflection which curtailed the desire to project the researchers' own experiences of school onto the informants.

Developing rapport with pupil informants was an altogether more difficult task. Observing their lessons with the teacher informant gave some insight into their experiences, but it was difficult to empathise with their home experiences. Although the researcher lived in the 'catchment' area of *Boyscomp* and *Engirl*, and understood something of the pressures that affect their communities, to claim anything other than insight verified by observable behaviour in the classroom or similar responses from different research sites would not be justified. One of the major problems was that of trust. The researcher is an outsider. Teachers and pupils were wary, particularly at first, about who might see, or hear the interviews. In phase one there were fewer opportunities to build up trust, especially as total time spent together was never more than sixty minutes. However, Eric, Jane and Geoff in phase one offered powerful messages within these brief interviews, and sometimes information that made them quite vulnerable. Whilst in phase two, Barry, Dennis, Mary and Sandy, amongst others, revealed powerful information about themselves, and yet Sandy did not feel secure enough to allow her pupils to be interviewed in a room without her present.

Trust with pupils was again a different issue. Some pupils saw a power game between the 'jacket and tie' (representing the school) and themselves, and offered the answers that would be recognised in a game between the dominator and the dominated. These pupils tended to come from the 'upper ability' sets. A number of pupils from the 'middle' to 'lower' ability sets opened up quite candidly. However, even here there was a

recognisable game, expressed by one of Sandy's pupils, who accidentally met the researcher at a bus stop after school. He greeted the researcher with a cheery wave and asked him what he thought of the school, with the addendum 'you don't have to pretend now, we are not in school'. These doubts about the integrity of the data are a caution not to generalise. However, it does not invalidate the explored issues. Some of these issues simply need further verification, whilst others, because of their frequency of occurrence need less verification.

The interviewer tried to balance their reactions to the informants' contributions so that they responded positively to the informants' participation in the research process, whilst being aware not to evaluate the informants' contributions. The skills of the interviewer are complex and are not simple motor skills like riding a bicycle: rather they involve a high order combination of observation, empathetic sensitivity, and intellectual judgement (Gorden 1992).

The group, or focus, interviews with pupils were designed to explore pupil responses to the observed lesson and their perceptions of teacher values. The approach to the group interviews involved two roles. The first was that of directing the interview and the second involved moderating, or managing the group. One of the difficulties associated with group interviews is that the dynamics of a group can lead to 'groupthink' rather than considered individual responses. The interviews always began with turn taking, but as pupils became more comfortable pupils would interject, and the interview would become less formal. In small groups of four or five it is possible for one individual to dominate. The interviewer was aware of this possibility and encouraged all pupils to express their views. This

approach did elicit responses successfully in most groups, drawing out minority views with Barry's pupils, for example. But, it was less successful with Mary's pupils. However, the characteristics of group interviews make them unsuitable tools for exploring the values of individual pupils.

Gender, ethics, and sensitivity

Fontana and Fey (2001) make reference to a number of feminist perspectives on interviewing; including the perspective that sees interviewing as a traditionally masculine paradigm, ignoring sensitivity and emotionality. The researcher tried to address these issues through the manner in which data was collected, and feedback and dissemination took place with informants in phase two. However, the responsibility for research analysis lies squarely with the researcher. The researcher's view is that other researchers could have handled the data collection and analysis differently. It is not the intention of the researcher to mount a defence of their position with regard to sensitivity and emotionality. The researcher simply offers a personal account of a tragic event as indicative of their position.

Sandy's legacy:

After phase two, and before the dissemination day, Sandy died tragically in a fire at her home. Prior to this event Sandy had explained how discontented she was with the school. Other staff intimated before and after her death that Sandy had 'problems'. Sandy talked to me about her unhappiness with the flat where she lived, and her desire to leave. I did not pursue any of these matters with her before her untimely death, or after with her colleagues. I consider her recorded interviews and lesson observation notes, offered with

her consent, to be valuable in helping the research community understand the nature of the teachers' world. There are other approaches a researcher could have taken to this tragic situation. Another researcher may have created a stronger relationship with Sandy where other issues could have been explored. Another researcher may have approached Sandy's colleagues after her death, and this may have offered greater insight into the teacher's world. Other researchers may consider the raising of this issue in a section on methodology to be cold and typically 'masculine'. It is my intention to be discreet and respectful, not callous.

Names have been changed to protect anonymity. I do not wish to run the risk of creating more unhappiness for those involved. Sandy had important things to say, and she was keen that I should record them, and use them. I will try my best to treat her words with respect by avoiding speculative analysis, and unsubstantiated generalisation.

Appendix 3 (b)

An account of phase one data analysis

This section gives an account of the thematic induction, coding and theoretical exemplification used in the analysis of phase one data. The results from this combined with results from thematic analysis were compared with QCA values (1997) to reveal the absence of the values contexts of Subject and Pupils.

The three processes of thematic induction, coding and theoretical exemplification required frequent revisiting of the data. This iterative process was intended to immerse the researcher in the data. Of course, the danger is of being so immersed in the detail that the larger picture is missed. The larger picture, the four contexts and the characteristics to emerge from the analysis of phase one data is presented in Appendix four. Results from phase one are referred to here because they illustrate methodological issues. A full discussion of these results is to be found in Chapter Four onwards.

Inference: some words of caution

The researcher designed the semi-structured interviews and pursued interesting points in a manner that invested commitment and interest in the process. The researcher absorbed the informants' data in order to develop an intuitive feel for the nature and meaning of the interview. This meant that any omissions or errors in the transcription, although not eliminated, were unlikely to lead to an invalid inference. Reference has already been made to the frailty of the research model in this phase. Consequently, it is worth repeating here that the process of analysis described in this phase leads to results which is '*relatively unambiguous*' at level one of the 'ladder of inference' (Altirichter, Posch and Somekh

1993). ‘Relatively’ has been put into italics to stress that a methodology that tries to explain human aspirations is unlikely to be free from controversy. The ‘characteristics of the four contexts’ are to be found at levels two and three and have claims to validity in terms of correspondence (experience) (Tarnas 1996) and humanist (ways of seeing) truth (De Bono 1996) .

Thematic induction

The original purpose of the research was to discover what teachers wanted to achieve in a period of reduced autonomy and increased accountability, and if possible to discover the sources of motivation. Values, at this stage, were treated as one aspect of belief. Other aspects to be explored were motivation; influences; intention; practice and perceptions of autonomy. Thematic induction was the first step in analysing the 19 transcriptions.

The method here is to rely on repeated readings followed by intuition: “themes emerge from the data”.....The problem here is that the inductive process has no procedural check. Thematic induction is fine as a *first stage* in a *lengthy* participant observation study such as those of the symbolic interactionist tradition....where the injunction is to use one set of insights as a basis for structuring further fieldwork in a series of phases alternating between data collection and analysis. (Winter 1982 p 165)

This method relied upon constant re-reading of the transcripts in order for the major themes to emerge. The themes were then categorised with the purpose of identifying the range of issues that affected teachers’ work and about which they would have beliefs. Bearing in mind that there are as many ways of categorising as there are purposes (Dey 1993.) this analysis was conducted with the purpose of identifying factors that would explain the origins of what teachers want to achieve in teaching in a period of increased control and accountability.

Using A4 summaries of analysis a commentary was written on each teacher's beliefs. This analysis provided succinct data, and described what teachers said, but offered little in the way of meaning, or explanation. The interviews did not manage to 'dig' beneath the surface representations to uncover the complexity of meaning that would have allowed the researcher to address the research problems. An example from the data, Nancy, and her views on the 'selection process' as a value illustrates this.

So much paper work to do, almost I think that your teaching becomes low on your list of priorities. The children become almost a nuisance. Because you want them out of your way, because you want the paper work filled in....you want them to pass the exam at the end of it. That is how they are measured. Whether you like it or not, education is a big selection process, isn't it?....*Do you feel comfortable with this?* Not so much comfortable, but realistic. That's life, isn't it? That is how it is. *Would you want it to be any different?* In the ideal world yes, you would. But it won't will it? Cynical me. (3.10)

Nancy had assimilated 'selection process' as one of her values, even though, in doing so it revealed her cynicism. This value was part of her situational self. However, we do not know from the data what effect this assimilation had on her motivation or practice, although she suggests that pupils become 'almost a nuisance'. The complexity of the relationship between the teacher and his/her 'values' was beginning to reveal itself. The work was beginning to reflect the diverse nature of apparently straightforward values, but the link between description and meaning is tenuous.

At first glance thematic induction does not take us very far in our understanding of values. However, the results from this process are significant once the data is compared with the perceptions of the QCA because it reveals what is left out of the QCA paradigm: the values of Subject and Pupils. As Winter (1982) suggested, thematic induction was beginning to inform the next phase of the fieldwork.

The researcher looked for a different method of analysis, and concentrated on what the teachers valued, rather than attempting to explore the range of beliefs that supported and explained the origins of those values. The concern was to uncover meaning, and explanation, rather than simply identify a number of possible sources and types of values. The researcher was moving towards a realisation that greater in-depth data and analysis was required. The process of analysis was also leading to a refinement of the research questions. However, before this was to happen the researcher turned to two approaches to coding the data in a further attempt to elicit deeper analysis.

Coding to pre-determined categories, and theoretical exemplification

As Miles and Huberman (1984) suggested, the process of coding led to refinement of the research questions. It raised questions about the nature of the data. What information was missing? Links between themes/values that were not revealed, questions that had not been asked. The exposure of these deficiencies would turn the researcher to new literature, to new methodologies, and an analysis of the data, leading to divergence rather than convergence (Fontana and Frey 2001).

The researcher on returning to the transcripts determined to approach them methodically. All 19 interviews were analysed using the pre-determined organising concepts of aims, motivation, influences and practice. These categories emerged from early reading, particularly Sharp and Green (1975) and their concern with intention and outcomes. In addition, the researcher looked for exemplification of the concepts outlined by Nias (1984), Nespor (1987), Grace (1985) Lawn and Ozga (1986).

The coding of the *Southside* data produced analysis that could summarise the categories, such as 'aims', on less than one side of A4. 'Alternativity' (Nespor 1987), another example, had responses from two informants, and provided data of two lines. This is an indication of the thinness of the data. This thinness was not reproduced to the same extent in the second batch of interviews at *Northside* where the analysis for each teacher took more than one page. However, the data was still insufficient for deeper analysis. The researcher was not able to identify the links between the categories, or explore the relationship between the categories and the research problems as is warranted by Spradley's (1979) stages of analysis. Miles and Huberman (1984) argued that this pre-determined approach was not appropriate for the complexities of social reality.

Coding, thematic induction and comparison with the QCA values.

Starting from a position of or thematic induction with an open mind, and no conceptual framework made the data appear 'thin.' Coding the data in order to exemplify theoretical positions or predetermined categories did not move the analysis on to a deeper level. A breakthrough occurred when the values articulated by the QCA (1997) were compared with the values that had emerged from the data.

This analysis required the researcher to return to the annotated interviews and the analysis derived from thematic induction. The values identified from this process were checked against the QCA criteria: the promotion of pupils' spiritual, moral social and cultural development. This led to the consolidation of the values from thematic induction (eg. gratitude and respect) and modification of some, and insertion of others' values (eg. self-

confidence). Colin's love of subject was also inserted on re-visiting the transcripts. This process slightly modified the original analysis, but the changes were not substantial. Most of the values could be associated with the criteria of the QCA apart from the subject-related values: love of subject and academic achievement. The revisiting of the data, in this way led to the modification and integration of the values.

The categories and transcripts were also revisited a number of times in the light of the dilemma analysis in phase two. One result of this was to revisit the Respect, Communication, Love of Subject and Academic Achievement values' categories with greater rigour than other categories. Respect and Communication were singled out as they had references from large numbers of respondents, and these references raised questions about 'shared values' and the functioning of school society. Love of Subject and Academic Achievement were returned to because they were not a focus for the QCA but appeared central to a large number of informants. This prompted a number of further questions. What wasn't covered by the QCA that was evident in the data from phase one? How did this inform the research questions? The revealed absences again, spoke loudly: Subject and Pupils. Ultimately this would provide data that, along with the literature review, would inform the first research question, and shape the other five. These points are followed up in Chapter Four.

Appendix 3 (c)

Dilemma analysis piloted on phase one data: Communication and Respect.

Communication and Respect are interesting because they raise an important question about the possibility of shared values. Different perspectives on Communication and Respect suggest that a methodology that reflects divergence is more appropriate than one that reflects convergence. Returning to the selected data and applying the characteristics of the four contexts (Appendix four) the data reflects a number of different perspectives on Communication and Respect. Some of these different perspectives create dilemmas. The data is not robust enough for the dilemmas to concern us at this point. The selected data included at the end of this appendix simply illustrates that to talk of the value of Communication or Respect is to invoke different meanings.

Communication

Communication analysed using the four contexts (selected data: communication)

(A) Self (4) An engagement image of the teacher (Frank 2.22, Mark 1.17, Geoff 2.20, Ron 4.6, Jane 5.7)	(B) Schooling (6) Asymmetrical relationships. (Irene 4.3, 4.8, Helen 3.22.) (7) Strategic action (Geoff 2.20) (8) Instrumental (Jane 5.7) (9) Disruptive of pupil learning (Geoff 2.20, 5.20 - 28)
(C) Subject (1) Intrinsic value of the subject. (Irene 4.3) (4) Importance of pedagogy (Frank 2.22) (5) Tension between academic achievement and love of subject (Irene 4.8)	(D) Pupils (1) Rejection of the teaching paradigm (Jane 3.12) (3) Teachers threatened by pupil rejection (Jane 3.12) (4) Pupils as a source of occupational motivation (Frank 2.22)

Different perspectives on the value of Communication in the four contexts

In the context of the Self Communication means to enjoy interaction with pupils, and for Mark and Ron, with other teachers. The desire for communication with other teachers is revealed for the first time here. This desire for Communication in the context of Self appears to represent an intrinsic pleasure, a pleasure in itself. However, the contexts of Subject and Schooling place other demands upon Communication. Thus, in Subject, Irene wishes to put across her own intrinsic pleasure of Modern Languages but she has to balance this against the instrumental demands of academic achievement. While Frank sees Communication as a challenge for his pedagogy. Meanwhile, Schooling has the effect of distorting Communication. Communication is seen as asymmetrical, predominantly from teacher to pupil (Irene and Helen). Communication is purposeful, which means that it has an instrumental nature, but in the case of Geoff, it is manipulative (strategic action) and, by his own admission, disruptive of pupil learning.

The teacher informants' contribution to the Pupils context is bracketed here to remind the reader that this is the teacher perspective on pupil influence on their values. Jane refers to the rejection of the teaching paradigm, and the threats associated with this rejection. Frank's comments on pedagogy: 'matching up what I am trying to tell them with what they know already. That sort of thing is an interesting challenge' (2.22) is also closely related to 'Pupils as a source of inspiration'. For the purposes of dilemma analysis in stage two the voice of the pupil is more likely to bring this context into sharper focus. However, the perceptions of the teacher should not be excluded from this context, as it is the teacher perception that is the focus of this work..

The different contexts suggest a number of dilemmas: between the desire for intrinsic engagement through Communication in the context of the Self, with the manipulative, instrumental, asymmetrical Communication of the context of Schooling; between the intrinsic value of Subject Communication and the disruptive nature of Communication in Schooling. A further dilemma exists within the subject itself, the tension between academic achievement and love of subject.

Respect

Respect analysed using the four contexts (selected data: respect)

Self Doing the right thing. (Geoff 7.25) Making the most of responsibilities and opportunities (Jane 7.1) 'Authoritarian' image of the teacher (Eric 3.24, Nancy 2.12 - see Schooling) <i>(New) 'Person' image of the teacher (David 7.25)</i>	Schooling Serves state and political interests (Ken 3.13) Authoritarian (Helen 2.22, Jane 10.13) (Eric 3.24, Nancy 2.12 - see Self)
Subject Instrumental value of the subject (Geoff 9.10)	Pupil Pupil rejection of the teaching paradigm (Jane 3.12, 7.1, 7.21, Irene 2.6) <i>(New) Respect between pupils (David 7.25, Irene 4.16, 4.25, Jane 7.12)</i> <i>(New) Appreciation of personal efforts (Eric 2.35, Nigel 9.24)</i>

Different perspectives on the value of Respect in the four contexts

In the context of the Self, respect involves engaging pupils, responding to the pupil as an individual, reflecting Woods (1979) qualities of the teacher as a person. Whilst Jane links respect with the responsibility to work hard in order to get rewards. The interview data from Eric and Nancy does not allow inference as to whether the authoritarian perspective on respect is derived from the context of Schooling or Self.

However, the comments of Helen and Jane make clear reference to the structures and customs of Schooling in shaping pupil respect for teachers. This respect is authoritarian, derived from position and age. The reminiscences of Jane invoke a ‘Golden Age’ of the past, when pupils were more respectful of a hierarchical organisation. Also in the context of Schooling Ken makes reference to respect being due to the teacher because of the benefits their teaching brings to the country. He makes this comment in the context of overseas work, but bemoans the fact that similar respect is not shown to teachers in this country.

Geoff describes the respect that was given to the man who taught him to play his brass instrument. This respect was based upon the instrumental value of the subject that the man taught. Irene and Jane, are concerned that pupils do not respect the teaching exchange (Willis 1977) of control for knowledge. This rejection is illustrated by disrespectful behaviour: pushing, shouting, abusing. Eric and Nigel like pupils to be appreciative of the work that teachers do for pupils.

Selected data: communication.

Southside
3. Science Frank <i>What do you enjoy about teaching?</i> I enjoy helping people. I like to be able to talk to people, help people to understand things, thinking of different ways of looking at things, to try to put things in different ways, trying to relate it to what children....matching up what I am trying to tell them with what they know already. That sort of thing is an interesting challenge.(2.22)
4. Geog Mark <i>What do you enjoy about teaching?</i> What apart from kids learning stuff? I think, interacting with kids, chatting with kids, the socialisation side of things. Seeing them mature and grow. I did have another year off, one time, swanning around (<i>Northtown</i>) telling teachers how to teach field-work. I didn't like it at all, because I was on my own and I was just seeing people for brief periods in the day, and I like the atmosphere of the staff. Having colleagues to work with. (1.17)
6. Barb Mod Lang The part of the job (<i>VAT Inspector</i>) that I enjoyed best was dealing with people. So, I moved into teaching. <i>How does teaching compare with your previous employment?</i> Much more enjoyable. The things that I enjoy, and have got out of it are, communication with people, instructive side, and there is more feedback. (2.21)
9. English Ron <i>What do you enjoy about teaching?</i> I enjoy the contact with the kids, which is, I say, friendly, sociable is the wrong word, have a laugh. And I like the staff. If you are talking about more professional matters it's hard to put into words. But the thing that makes you get up in the morning and

come into work are the people. (4.6)
Northside
11. Science David <i>Can you describe to me a lesson that you have recently enjoyed?</i> One of the tasks was to give a short talk on a chosen topic. It was nice to see how they responded to that, because they were obviously nervous, but pleased to be able to stand up and be able to talk to their peers....you try to teach broader things, about how to work together, how to develop skills of communication. (3.28)
13. RE Geoff I tend to be quite loud, quite emotive. I tend to whip them up so that they are excited, or interested. But, then in a sense, I've lost it. Because I am so keen. My biggest failing is I'll eventually get them quite settled down, and they will be so quiet, and then I'll have to go and say something to them, because I don't like that kind of deathly silence where they are working like that. I want to be involved, and a part of it....(2.20) <i>Is this one of the more effective lessons?</i> They are often the ones where I am in the middle doing something, talking to the kids, getting them to talk back. The one's I don't enjoy are the ones where they are doing what I want them to do, in terms of some writing. We've had the 10 minute talk and now they are doing some writing, and it's boring, you know, its tedious....(5.20 – 28)
15. Mod Lang Irene I enjoy putting over my enthusiasm for my subjects and getting feedback on that and seeing them.....Like, communicate (4.3) <i>Would you sacrifice any of these pleasurable things to improve grades?</i> Communication is very important in languages, but sometimes you have to cut back on that if you are not getting through the formal aspect. (4.8)
17. Mod Lang Jane <i>What do you enjoy about teaching?</i> You are basically talking. (Laughter) I like the interaction with the kids....I don't mean talking not about what I am doing. I don't mean just chatting to the kids. I enjoy the general within the subject (5.7) I think that I have the right to be spoken to politely. I've got the right not to be pushed, shouted at, abused. (3.12)
19. English. Helen <i>Has teaching lived up to your expectations?</i> I have to say, I like it when, in the classroom, giving forth, and the kids are giving back to me. That side I try and focus in on, but more and more and more I find that there are other pressures, other issues that are coming in that are creating added burdens and pressures...(3.22)

Selected data: respect.

Southside
5. Art. Eric I think that we have always had problem children. To a certain extent there was a lot more respect for adults. I think now there is a lot less respect for adults. It's a bit of an awkward question because a lot of my time now is spent as a disciplinarian having to deal with other people's problems. (3.24)when somebody gets so involved and they come back after four years and say 'This is for you.' (2.35)
7. Maths. Nancy I think the kids were more respectful. Almost because they had to be because of the punishments that could be meted out in those days. I'm talking sort of 20 years ago. It was almost a different school that I started my career at. (2.12)
9. English. Ron I don't know....to achieve the respect of the pupils that you teach and that they were fulfilling their potential. This sounds cosy. (4.14)
Northside
11. Science David Also, the respect that the rest of the group gave them while they were delivering it was quite nice. It is nice to see other aspects of what they are trying to get over, besides the facts or techniques of the subject....Well, you try to teach broader things, about how to work together, how to develop skills of communication, build up a child's confidence as well. (3.22)....the message that we try and give over is that we try and deal with people with care and consideration as individuals, and respect them as individuals. (7.25)
12. PE Nigel <i>How do you measure success as a teacher?</i> Different in different situations. I would like to say, I would like to think that, to be able to walk into a changing room, where kids were getting changed and, ask kids to be quiet; that was a certain amount of success, because the kids have got enough respect to actually listen to what you have got to say and value what you say. (6.1) <i>What values do you consider to be the most important to you?</i> I value people who care, or are concerned. People who respect other people and other things, and that sort of thing. I suppose, I'm not sure...I'll have a think....I value what the Conservative Party would call traditional family values. I value the family. I think that there should be a father, a mother and that there should be respect for parents and children. (8.20 - 24)

<p>I feel that if I can pass on the moral high ground, being concerned for and respectful of other people, if that can be passed on that would be quite nice. Because we do a tremendous amount of time that I am not paid for as a PE teacher, after school, before school, at weekends. For a pupils to come up and say: 'thanks for that', that is worth so much.(9.24)</p>
<p>13. RE Geoff <i>What should schools aim to teach pupils?</i> ...to be able to respect people; to value other people's opinions; and their beliefs, and their way of life; to be able to treat one another responsibly and in a decent manner...(7.25) I admired some of my teachers, I admired the man who taught me to play my brass instrument. The things that he knew, the respect that he commanded from people. (9.10)</p>
<p>15. Mod Lang Irene <i>What should schools aim to teach pupils?</i> I think the main thing would probably be respect; respect for themselves; each other; other people; people trying to help them; general respect. I think that would then engender a lot of the other things. (4.16) I think that probably I've got more concern that respect for themselves and each other is not as obvious as it used to be, and I think that we are having to work harder to get that to happen. I don't think that it is particularly in this school. I think it is in general. Just very small things, just their own self discipline. (4.25) they don't come in with this positive attitude....it does affect me....because we always get the 'why do we always have to learn other people's languages? (2.6)</p>
<p>17. Mod Lang Jane you have always got a core of children that are going to be difficult. Like you have got a core of criminals....children are virtually running the establishment in many cases (2.10) Well, I think that I have the right to be spoken to politely. I've got the right not to be pushed, shouted at, abused (3.12) <i>What should schools aim to teach pupils?</i> Respect for other people, consideration, and that you get nothing for nothing (7.1).....the awful thing is, if you listen, children don't even respect each other. If you listen to the way that they talk to each other (7.12)...I think that we are living in an age....I will give you an example: I smoke. I would never smoke in my parents house, and I'm 46. My father hates it. I would never, ever answer my father back, even now...I would never be rude to my mother, ever....they had to work hard, and they themselves were taught that if you didn't work you didn't peck. (7.21) I have said 'aren't you lucky you have got that computer?'... 'So, what, they both work.'....'Aren't you grateful?' (8.9) I don't like the way children are at the moment. That is my biggest thing. The respect thing. (9.8) The biggest thing is respect....I actually think that it should be instilled before we even get them....I don't say 'shut the door', I say 'open the window please.' I wouldn't dream of saying to a child without please, or thank you. But, I expect that back. I should be second nature. (10.13)</p>
<p>18. D.T. Ken. <i>What values do you consider to be most important to you?</i> Politeness, respect for people. (7.3) I felt, when I was abroad.... I really, really enjoyed it. It was great. The students were really appreciative of what you were doing, the people, well the parents, the people in surrounding society, they were really appreciative, of you being there. <i>Why was this?</i> Because they felt that you were actually helping them. They could see, that with you helping their sons and daughters that was going to benefit the country....<i>Do you get the same feeling here?</i> Not really, no. .(3.13)</p>
<p>19. English. Helen ...issues like discipline and what I expect of pupils are the same. The same values are there. I think that the way it is approached is slightly different. I suppose when I was at school there was a very clear, well to me anyway, very clear hierarchy and prefect, and that sort of thing, running down into the pupil set up as well. And now, I think that you have to work harder at getting the respect of the pupils. To be honest. It was much more automatic that you did respect an adult, and I think that has gone and that makes the job harder now. (2.22)</p>

Appendix 4

Characteristics of the four values contexts

Self	Schooling
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Doing the right thing;2. Making the most of responsibilities and opportunities;3. Contemplation and enjoyment4. An 'engagement' image of the teacher;5. An 'authoritarian' image of the teacher;6. A negative self-image of the teacher.7. <i>Communication with other teachers</i>8. <i>'Person' image of the teacher.</i>9. Multiple roles.	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Serves state/political interests2. Passivity/obedience.3. Erosion of dignity4. Rewards and penalties for certain capacities5. Authoritarian6. Asymmetrical relationships7. Strategic action8. Disruptive of pupil learning9. Practice in conflict with policy10. Concern with morality11. Teacher as role model12. Conditional trust13. Limited tolerance14. Fear of breakdown in pupil discipline/custodial atmosphere.15. Certification/classification of pupils16. Dependence on parental support17. Industrial environment/Separated from the local community
Subject	Pupils
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Intrinsic value of subject.2. Instrumental value of subject.3. Instrumental value of academic achievement.4. Importance of pedagogy5. Tension between academic achievement and love of subject	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Rejection of the teaching paradigm2. Rejection of the intellectual/cognitive paradigm3. Teachers threatened by pupil rejection4. Pupils as a source of occupational inspiration5. <i>Respect between pupils</i>6. <i>Appreciation of personal efforts of the teacher</i>

Appendix 5

Phase one sample

Figures in parenthesis represent the number of years teaching.

Southside Comp: a non denominational, LEA maintained, 11- 16, coeducational comprehensive.
Sample A (44-55 years old)
Louise: (22) English/ Language support Mark: (24) Geography Eric: (23) Art Nancy: (17) Maths Anne: (20) Modern Languages
Sample B (29-39 years old)
Pam: (13) English Frank: (3) Science Barbara: (3) Modern Languages Colin: (18) Maths Ron: (8) English
Northside: a non denominational, voluntary aided, 11 – 16, coeducational comprehensive
Sample A (44-55 years old)
David: (24) Science/Dep.head - Susan: (25) Science Irene: (20) Modern Languages Terry: (23+)* English Jane: (25) Modern Languages:
Sample B (29 –39 years old)
Nigel: (10) PE - Gerry: (11) RE - Ken: (3+)**Technology - Helen: (14) English -

* In addition, Terry taught for a time in Chester but does not say for how long.

** In addition, Ken taught for a time in Botswana, but does not say for how long.

Appendix 6

Phase two sample

Notes

Figures in parenthesis represent the number of years teaching.

Figures in bold represent the number of pupils present in the observed classes.

(PI = N) = number of pupil informants in the group interview

Coed Comp : Comprehensive, co-educational, county school
Gerry (26): English, top ability set. 21 (PI = 4) Roger (24): English , lower ability set. 24 (PI = 4) Dennis (5): Chemistry, top ability set. 20 (PI = 4) Betty (15): Chemistry, middle ability set. @20 (PI = 4)
Churchcomp: Comprehensive, voluntary aided, co-educational catholic school
Barry (30): English, middle ability set. @ 24 (PI = 5) Millicent (1) Drama, mixed ability @18 (PI = 4) Keith (22): Biology, middle ability set. 24 (PI = 4) Susan (3): Physics, middle ability set. 20 (PI = 4)
Engirl: Comprehensive, community girls school.
Jenny (7): English, mixed ability group. 18 (PI = 4) June (3): English, mixed ability group. 17 (PI = 4)
Boyscomp: Comprehensive, county boys school;
Mary (16): English, top ability set. 24 (PI = 4) Sandy (9): English, lower ability set. 23 (PI = 4) Derek (13): Physics, middle ability set. 11 (PI = 3) Gordon (8): Biology, top ability set. 20 (PI = 4)
Scigirl: Comprehensive, county girls school.
Farouk (6): Physics, middle ability set. 26 (PI = 5)

Appendix 7

Notation used with the selected data

Phase one	
4.25	Page number followed by line number in the transcript
Phase two	
Pre	Pre observation teacher interview transcript
Post	Post observation teacher interview transcript
Pupil	Post observation pupil interview transcript
ON	Lesson observation notes
UI	Unrecorded information
1 –12	Refers to text units in the transcript
Text in <i>italics</i>	Researcher comments, questions or changes to protect anonymity
RM3	Revise meeting 14 th July 2000
INNER CITY/ HEADTEACHER	Examples of changes made to protect anonymity